Volume 17, No. 1, 2009

The Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences

Faculty of Arts and Humanities
University of Peshawar

ISSN 1024-0829

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List of Contributors

Amir Khan	Professor, Department of Geography, Urban & Regional Planning University of Peshawar
Anoosh W. Khan	Department of Gender Studies, University of Peshawar
Estelle Dryland	Department of Anthropology, Macquarie University, Sydney, AUSTRALIA
Fazlur-Rehman	Assistant Professor, Department of Geography, Urban & Regional PlanningUniversity of Peshawar
Hizbullah Khan	Lecturer, Department of Environmental Sciences University of Peshawar
Ibrahim Shah	Associate Professor, Department of Archaeology, Hazara University, Mansehra
Iffat Tabassum	Lecturer, Department of Geography, Urban & Regional Planning, University of Peshawar
Ihsan Ali	Professor, Department of Archaeology, Hazara University, Mansehra
Johar Ali	Department of Sociology and Anthropology University of Peshawar
M. Anis-ul-Haque	National Institute of Psychology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad
Mahmoud El Salman	Department of English Language and Translation Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Sohar University
Mohammad Nafees	Lecturer, Department of Environmental Sciences University of Peshawar
Muhammad Azizullah Khan	Institute of Management and Computer Sciences Foundation University, Islamabad
Nasir Jamal Khattak	Department of English & Applied Linguistics University of Peshawar
Shazia Sadaf	Department of English & Applied Linguistics University of Peshawar
Thomas Roche	Department of English Language and Translation Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Sohar University
Zafar Iqbal	Chairman, Department of English, Bahauddin Zakaria University, Multan
Zakirullah Jan	Lecturer, Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar
Zia Ahmad	Assistant Professor, Islamia University, Bahawalpur

Contextualizing Literature: Gender and Human Rights in Contemporary Peshawar[1]

Anoosh W. Khan
Department of Gender Studies
University of Peshawar

> Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home—so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world….Such are the places where every man, woman and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere.
>
> Eleanor Roosevelt[2]

Abstract

People both in and out of Pakistan perceive Peshawar and people from there in a negative way. The negative image of Pukhtoon/Pashtuns has especially acquired newer and more derogatory nuances in the wake of the post-9/11 activities in Pakistan. People think of Pukhtoons as a barbaric people who know nothing about Gender issues or Human Rights. As such the lighter, creative and aesthetic aspects of Pukhtoons remain not only concealed but absolutely unacknowledged.

In today's world 'Peshawar'—for those who have heard the name—heralds many thoughts related to the Muslim and Pukhtoon identity, not only in the West but also within Pakistan itself. For those who are not familiar with Peshawar, a common notion even amongst many Pakistanis, is that Pukhtoons or 'Pathans,' as they say, are people who are wood-cutters, children-abductors, and women rights violators—in short barbarians of a stone-age, living in some remote and rugged lands! As such it's not a big shock if the West generally considers Pukhtoon men synonymous with Talibans and the women synonymous with the *burqa* (veil) and absolute *purdah*, thus epitomizing religious and cultural radicalism. This paper is an attempt to illustrate the lighter, creative, aesthetic and the humane side of those who live in Peshawar.

As Gender and Human Rights are key concepts in the turbulent and troublesome times that our generation is going through, it is pertinent to see whether those who create literature, particularly in Peshawar, have or do not have a Gender and Human Rights perspective when it comes to their own lives, practical and creative experiences. The reason for creating this trinity of literature, Gender and Human Rights becomes very important in the present times because literature in its various forms still has a strong impact on human life. Morris says:

> 'Literature' is also an institution which is embodied primarily in education and publishing…. 'Literature' is a cultural practice involving the writing, reading, evaluation, teaching and so on of the literary canon…. It has traditionally been believed that creative forms of writing can offer special insight into human

> experience and sharpen our perception of social reality (Morris, 1993, 2000, 6-7).

Gender related problems need to be resolved, and a problem can be resolved only when it is recognized as a problem. Spacks says:

> The difference between traditional female preoccupations and roles and male ones make a difference in female writing. Even if a woman wishes to demonstrate her essential identity with male interests and ideas, the necessity of making the demonstration, contradicting the stereotypes, allies her initially with her sisters [female writers] (Spacks, 1972, 1976, 7).

Human rights have to be taken into account as long as there are 'humans,' that is, both men and women, on this planet: "To be male is to be human, to be female is to be other—'a thing that could not feel/The touch of earthly years' (Morris, 1993, 2000, 26).

Literature Review

For the purpose of this research, I have first looked at the comparative position of writers, particularly female writers, in the English/American literary traditions. I do not focus on the written text and the presentation of female characters in them, showing gender disparity present in those societies. My concentration is on the way female writers are treated in their society; the issues of their pseudo-identities; literary themes; problems in having their work published; critiques of their work by male writers and critics; the position of female writers in the establishment of literary canons; and launching and using literary language, particularly feminine language, as suggested by Kristeva, Irigaray and Cixous. I have taken into consideration the position of black writers, particularly women and post-colonial women writers to see the various variables that affect writers in their creative processes.

The spectrum of English/American literary tradition, in my thesis, broadly expands over three centuries, that is, from 18th century to the present times, as a lot has happened and has been written about in English and American literatures. From the wider scene of western literature I have turned my focus to Pakistani writers writing in Urdu (the national language of Pakistan), and to the contributions of and about women by both male and female writers.

The Purpose

After Urdu literature I shift my attention to literature in the N-WFP, with particular focus on the literary circles in contemporary Peshawar. Although Peshawar is predominantly the land of the Pukhtoons, yet, it offers a lot of cultural and literary diversity. My research is an attempt to answer questions such as: which is the dominant language(s)[3] of expression in the literary circles in contemporary Peshawar? What is the ratio of male/female authors? What is their genre? Whether male and female authors have equal and similar advantages/disadvantages regarding publication outlets? What are the problems authors face in terms of gender/ethnic biases? Are the

so called "sensitive" beings really sensitized enough to feel gender/ethnic bias, amongst themselves, as a "Human Rights" problem?

The Location and Description of Research Participants

The research location is predominantly the University of Peshawar and other areas within the city where the respondents (other than the University faculty) live. This location is selected because most of the local literary figures are either directly or indirectly related to the University of Peshawar. The research participants are University of Peshawar professors and local literary personalities, some of whom publish their work while others do not. The participants include both men and women, ranging from ages 35 and above, and have different ethnic backgrounds, i.e., Pashto, Hindko and Urdu speaking.

The Research Method, Design and Mode of Analysis

I have used the Interpretive/Constructivist approach, which follows qualitative research method. Literature and Gender are socially constructed and lead to personal notions about human rights; the respondents' ideas could only be obtained and clarified through personal interaction and interpretation, which is why I used Interpretive/Constructivist approach. The qualitative method is used primarily because: i) there is no prior quantitative data available for this research; and ii) there is no standardized method available in this area of research. The strategies for qualitative research in my work are ethnographic and phenomenological. The sampling is stratified, considering, a. sex b. age c. ethnic background d. professional background. The sample size is 15 participants, comprising writers, critics, publishers and distributors. The mode of data collection includes comprehensive and structured interviews, of approximately 2-2.5 hour duration/respondent.

A survey of the English literature shows that male writers have been producing greater volume of work with a lot of pride and candidness. Women, however, always wrote undercover, and chose to write under a male-like name. The list of such female writers is pretty exhaustive. No matter how diverse reasons they might have had most of them acquired an identity in order to gratify the values and mores of their times. Ellen Moers (1963, 1977) says about George Sand:

> Her maiden name was Amantine-Aurore-Lucile Dupin, of which Aurore was the operative first name (fortunately for literature: from "Aurore" Mrs. Browning derived a heavenly host of images for *Aurora Leigh*). Had she used her maiden name, it would have been an offense to her mother, Mme. Dupin; and her married name, an outrage to her mother-in-law, the Baronne Dudevant (p. 10).

Yet, the guised identity did not impede the production of fine literature and female writers continued to pour out their aesthetic, personal and at times philosophic ideas, passing through various literary phases. Toril Moi (1985, 2002), quoting Elaine Showalter, gives a very interesting illustration of this literary development:

> First, there is a prolonged phase of *imitation* of the prevailing modes of the dominant tradition, and *internalization* of its standards of art and its views on social roles. Second, there is a phase of *protest* against these standards and values, and *advocacy* of minority rights and values, including a demand for autonomy. Finally, there is a phase of *self-discovery*, a turning inward freed from some of the dependency of opposition, a search for identity. An appropriate terminology for women writers is to call these stages, *Feminine*, *Feminist*, and *Female* (p. 55).

The female writers no doubt, were creating literature but were unconsciously following the same paradigms that were dictated by male writers of their age. Moi (1985, 2002), quoting Gilbert and Gauber, claims:

> The writer 'fathers' his text; in the image of the Divine Creator he becomes the Author—sole origin and meaning of his work….Since creativity is defined as male, it follows that the dominant literary images of femininity male fantasies too. Women are denied the right to create their own images of femaleness, and instead must seek to conform to the patriarchal standards imposed on them (pp. 56-7).

Pam Morris (1993, 2000) has a somewhat similar perception when the question of female literary history and development arises. She says:

> A heroic tradition of literature is composed entirely of a succession of great fathers and sons. There are no mothers or daughters within the dynasty of the literary canon as constructed by male critics—the crown of greatness passes solely through a male line (p. 47).

Although the female writers, in spite of various problems, continued to write, yet one of the major challenges they faced was the negative criticism that came from their male counterparts and critics. These female writers had to bear a twofold burden: inheriting and propagating the male literary canon; and facing the male writers' criticism—mostly unconstructive and demoralizing. Morris (1993, 2000), says "Showalter echoes Ellmann's claim that 'To their contemporaries, nineteenth-century women writers were women first, artists second'" (p. 44) and that

> there were constant insinuations by male critics that only those unhappy women denied family fulfilment needed to write….'Happy women, whose hearts are satisfied and full, have little need of utterance. Their lives are rounded and complete; they require nothing but the calm recurrence of those peaceful home duties in which domestic women rightly feel that their true vocation lies' (p. 44).

Morris also implies that the outlook, particularly of the well-known male critics, has not changed much in the 20th century either. She believes that for Harold Bloom, for instance, "The only female presence admitted within his construction of literary history is the male poet's muse" (p. 48). Morris continues to disapprove of the male critics' attitude and claims:

> Another major canon-forming work is Geoffrey Hartmann's *Criticism in the Wilderness: A Study of Literature Today (1980)*. With the single exception of Emily Dickinson, Hartmann constructs a literary and critical history of male writers: Coleridge, Carlyle, Nietzsche, Yeats, Benjamin, Harold Bloom and Derrida form a male dynasty of writers driven by a sense of demonic excess in language (p. 48).

Mary Ellmann, according to Moi, gives a tremendously radical view of male criticism. She says "Books by women are treated as though they themselves were women, and criticism embarks, at its happiest, upon an intellectual measuring of busts and hips" (Toril Moi 1985, 2002, 33). A problem that usually arises when it comes to women in general and, in this case, female writers, is that somehow they are not considered part of the mainstream of their respective professions. It is largely due to the unimportance given to female writers, harsh criticism, and exclusion from mainstream literary circles which eventually renders them unsure and unconvinced about their work. Morris says:

> Many women writers believe that their work is less likely to be reviewed than that of men, and that when it is, it is treated with less respect. They also complain that reviews frequently lump together work by women writers as if the common gender were the most significant thing about it, or that reviews of women's writing are placed on women's pages rather than on the general arts pages of journals and newspapers (Pam Morris, 1993, 2000, 46).

Just as female writers do not really enjoy a high literary pedestal as their male counterparts, the position of female critics is not much different either, who, according to Morris (1993, 2002), "may bring greater sympathy and insight to the work, but a review by a woman may signal a lower status for the writer, as of limited interest and restricted appeal (p. 47). That is why, perhaps, Moi (1985, 2000), quoting Gilbert and Gauber, also wonders if a separate feminine language can solve some of the identity crisis problem that female writers go through, particularly as an answer to male literary criticism:

> Since his is the chief voice she hears, does the Queen try to sound like the king, imitating his tone, his inflections, his phrasing, his point of view? Or does she 'talk back' to him in her own vocabulary, her own timbre, insisting on her own viewpoint (p. 58)?

Some of the critics like Cixous, Kristeva and Irigaray have gone on to suggest that feminine language and writing should be taken into account as well which may help establish a feminine individuality. Rosemarie Tong (1989, 1997) gives a comparison of these three critics in a very comprehensive manner:

> Hélène Cixous is primarily a novelist experimenting with literary style. In applying Derrida's notion of *differance* to writing, she contrasted feminine writing (*l'ecriture feminine*) with masculine writing (*literatur*). For a variety of sociocultural reasons, masculine writing has reigned supreme over feminine writing….Because these thoughts have been stamped with the official seal of

> approval, they are no longer permitted to move or change. Thus, for Cixous, feminine writing is not merely a new style of writing… [It should] be the springboard to bring possible change and help in the transformation of social and cultural standards. By developing a way of writing that is not limited by the rules that currently govern language, women will change the way the Western world thinks and writes and with it women's place in that world…. But Cixous cautioned women that any attempt to "break up/ to destroy" the Symbolic Order (language) is risky business… [It] may be too much a strain for women writers to sustain (p. 224-5).

According to Tong, Luce Irigaray to some extent agrees with Cixous that feminine sexuality and the female body are the sources of feminine writing. But Kristeva, according to Tong, differs from Cixous and Irigaray:

> To collapse language into biology—to insist that simply because of their anatomy, women write differently than men—is to force men and women, once again into patriarchy's straightjacket. Many men—particularly those with an ambiguous relation between their biological sex and their linguistic self-expression—are capable of writing in a "feminine" style…. Kristeva linked social revolution to poetic revolution, insisting that "*the historical and political experiences of the twentieth century have demonstrated that one cannot be transformed without the other."* Kristeva wanted the society to come to terms with the *abject* (with what has been marginalized or repressed by culture). The marginalized discourses found in madness, the irrational, the maternal, and the sexual must release their revolutionary powers into language (p.229-30).

According to theorists like Cixous and Kristeva a feminine language may give individuality and distinctiveness to female writing, nonetheless it may be a challenging task. However, along with language, other very serious concerns have to be taken into account. For example, race and ethnicity affect gender relations and give rise to relentless Human Rights issues, as is the plight of the Afro-American and postcolonial writers. No doubt, the Afro-American male writers face an identity crisis and their themes revolve around 'quest for identity' and the justification of their being. But this 'split' definitely affects their gender relations and power dynamics within their own communities as well including the literary circles. As a result the Afro-American female writers face a triple-burden of ethnicity, sexuality, and creativity. Therefore, Gina Wisker (2002) aptly repeats the words from Zora Neale Hurston's novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God (1937)* that "the white man's burden is handed to the Black man, who hands it to the Black woman, designated under this triple burden of class, colour, and gender, as 'the mule of the world'" (p. 20).

Whenever a group establishes their identity and individuality within their own society, apparently by opposing the existing values, it seems more like a threat to their existing, operating and controlling establishments. Even the Afro-American society suggests a similar cynicism:

> The belief that black women and feminist issues dominated African-American literature today has led to a distinct undercurrent of tension between black men and black women, as the former accuse the latter of unfairly attacking and criticizing them, and, thus, playing into the hands of the white power structure (Gerald Early, 2005, 232).

Morris (1993, 2000) elaborates on rather similar views and believes that:

> [Afro-American] is a history of male criticism and writing, which, like white male canonical constructions, erases the presence of women…. Black women who expressed any criticism of this male literary chauvinism or who were reluctant to perform a secondary and nurturing role to writing men were vulnerable to accusations of betrayal of black values and solidarity. 'Uppity' black women could be charged with trying to be white (p. 176).

However, the situation of the Third World or Postcolonial writers is not much different. Most of these writers, particularly male, display influence of colonialism and have identity as the center of their literary themes. These writers were constantly trying to erase the Western, particularly the British influence, from their lives. In other words, they wanted to subvert Western modernism towards nationalism, paving the way for a national identity. Even though the national struggle was apparently holistic in all fields of life, the condition of the females in general and that of the female writers in particular was not very promising. Morris observes:

> Neither was women's writing perceived as central to the nationalist movements….in many of the postcolonial male nationalist literary texts aimed at reconstructing a sense of national history and identity, women are represented in exceedingly stereotypical ways (p. 177).

Urdu literature also exhibits themes of similar identity crisis. The tale once again begins with the initial identity crisis of the female writer who, like her English counterpart, had to write under a pseudonym. Saleem Akhtar (2002) states:

> There was a time when woman [writer] used pennames or titles like Ume (mother of), Binat (daughter of), Begum (Ms./Mrs.) for their publications. Whereas in poetry, [particularly] in ghazals, woman [writer] adopted the traditional masculine forms of expression and emotions. Ada Badauni (post marriage Ada Jafferi) for the first time used the feminine mode of expression and emotions in ghazals. Therefore, [female poets]… should acknowledge the originality of Ada Jafferi in this respect (p. 479).[4]

Apart from using pseudonyms, Akhtar (2002) briefly sketches the condition of woman during the 19th century subcontinent, discussing who could and who could not claim to be a writer. He says that due to the traditional, cultural and emotional attitudes prevalent in the sub-continent during that time, woman was always restricted and imprisoned in various taboos. Due to economic dependency on males and lack of education, woman was only considered a child-bearing tool, not worthy of anything else. She was caught in the mesh of ancient traditions and self-imposed restrictions; ironically, the courtesan was a 'liberated' woman. Sometimes, though very rarely, female poets would belong to the royalty or nobility, but the ordinary woman, between

the courtesan and royalty, would naively claim what she, as a daughter and daughter-in-law, would know about poets and poetry![5]

Zaheda Hina (2006) echoes a similar plight, confirming that

> During this period [20th century] a young woman being a "good speaker," "having poetic tendencies and capabilities," and a "flare for education," in a typical Muslim household was considered unacceptable…. If during the fourth decade of the 20th century female education was considered shameful, then it is worth noting what the situation must have been during the 18th and 19th century [subcontinent]. During this period only a few educated and poetry-oriented, women who came forth, belonged to noble families. Otherwise, the majority [of female poets] were the courtesans (p. 275).[6]

Sadia Khalil (2006) very aptly sums up the role of woman and thus the female poet in the subcontinent and the present Pakistan. She says that "in Eastern society woman who deserves and earns praise is the one who foregoes the Self and sacrifices herself for her husband and household" (p. 150)[7].

From a wider perspective of Urdu literature in the subcontinent it is important to explore the growth of Urdu literature in Pakistan and the literary gender dynamics between the creative writers. Razi Abedi (retrieved July 7, 2007) gives a description of the initial post-partition literary predicament. He maintains:

> After political separation from India the question that naturally perplexes our writers is whether they have created a national literature which can be distinguished as Pakistani literature…. [However] In contemporary Pakistan one finds all the popular philosophies, movements and fads from all over the world. Traditionalism, symbolism, imagism, existentialism, impressionism, progressivism are all here. Pakistanis have attempted everything from the old-fashioned epic to the theater of the absurd.

Another critic, Mohammad Ali Farid Khwaja (2001, retrieved July 2007) believes:

> [Urdu] Literature in the 20th century became short, condense, powerful, rebellious and aggressive….The post-independence writers were quite different than the earlier ones. They were more harsh, blunt and explicit in their criticism. The tragedy and the miseries that accompanied independence killed the hopes that were associated with it. Idealism had faded and now instead of hoping for a just world, the writer started shouting for it.

Both these critics discuss the evolution and innovation in the literary thought of the Pakistani Urdu writer; neither talks about the specific changes and roles of the male and female writers. Similarly, Fazlur Rahim Marwat (2002, retrieved July 2007) defines the literary trends in Pashto, he believe that there are:

Three phases of Pashto Literature in Pakistan:

- First Phase: Pashtunistan Literature (1947-1978)
- Second Phase: Inqilabi and Jihadi (Revolutionary and Resistance) literature (1978-1992)

- Third Phase: Aman and Jirga (Peace and Reconciliation) Literature (1992-2002).[8]

Marwat (2002) very appropriately outlines the various phases of the evolution of Pashto literature in Pakistan. Nevertheless he too assumes that these evolutionary phases were established by male writers with no mention of role of the female writers and their contribution during the various developmental stages of Pashto literature.

As discussed earlier, with reference to English and American literary canons, the general notion of and about literature always implies the male perspectives and viewpoints—the female standpoint is taken for granted. Therefore, Bushra Farrukh (2007), a contemporary Urdu poet and TV artist from Peshawar, in the "Preface" to her most recent anthology of poems, states the emotional condition of woman who dares to write:

> The vindictiveness of our society is that even those female writers who are courageous and bold, are also forced to be careful when expressing their emotions…. Enchained by their various societal roles…. every female [writer] does not have this courage as somewhere at the back of her mind she is conscious of the fact that writing mirrors personality; while deconstructing words and meanings readers begin psychoanalyzing the writer, her dilemmas and shortcomings.[9]

My research points to a very valuable insight into the contemporary literary world in Pakistan. There is an array of brilliant writers regarding their ethnic, professional and lingual backgrounds, themes and genres of expression. Most of these writers, Pashto, Hindko and Urdu-speaking have been writing since their young age. Most of them try their hands at every form of literature like poetry drama, novel, short-story, travelogues, criticism, journalistic comments and reviews. I have consciously selected these people for this study as they are the most well-known names in their respective field.

It is interesting to see that the question of identity is the major theme in literature to date with most writers especially female writers; most prefer to conceal their identity. Some of the answers to questions about using pseudonym were fascinating. Most of the respondents told me that they did not use pseudo-identities. Salma Shaheen, a well-known Pashto poet, said that she never used a pseudonym herself but that other female writers used it in order to conceal their identity. She says that women compose 85% of folklore but they hide their identity as expression of emotions by woman is socially undesirable among Pashtuns. This is why they use either pseudonyms or do not own what they write. Shaheen does not use a pseudonym but she admits she prefers not to recite her poetry on television. However, she does not have a problem with reading her poetry in conferences or when there are poets reciting their poetry too. Attiya Hidayatullah, Pashto novelist/dramatist and a house-wife, changed her maiden name after she got married but proudly said that she published her first novel under her maiden name, Attiya Parveen. "That is my real identity!" she says.

Male writers also had interesting things to say about using pseudonyms. Abaseen

Yousafzay, a Pashto poet reveals that his real name is Muslim Shah and Abaseen Yousafzay is his penname, which he said he chose to sound poetic. He says, "My children don't know my name! Everyone in the family, even my mother, calls me Abaseen!" Raj Wali Shah Khattak, another Pashto poet, claims that he used to write his initials "R.W.S" (but in the Urdu alphabet), particularly when he writes for newspapers. Yousaf Rajaa Chishti, a retired army personnel and Urdu poet, had to add "Arbab" —a Pukhtoon title and caste, to his name to sound "Pakhtoon," as his readers did not take him for one with the name "Chishti." It seems that in the literary circles of Peshawar, male writers have or have had to use pseudonyms. Their female counterparts, on the other hand, have the rights and audacity to retain and use their own name for their literary compositions—something which challenges the established perception of Peshawar from a gender and Human Rights perspective: Peshawar is believed to be a very conservative and culturally and religiously restrictive place, not very sensitive to female expression.

Most of the contemporary writers focus on the woman question; giving voice to the voiceless; and gender disparities prevalent especially in the Pakhtoon society. Shamin Fazal-e-Khaliq, an Urdu writer, states, "I write about the general problems we face in life, especially issues concerning married women." Male writers, on the other hand, are romanticizing nature and human emotions but there is definitely a deeper analysis in their work in terms of political and social problems. Though none really talks about gender issues as such but apparently seems to be sensitive to such issues around them. For instance, Majid Riaz Sarhadi, an Urdu poet, sketches the contemporary political scene of Pakistan, with reference to the well-known Chief Justice case, in *Kala Coat* (The Black Coat), a poem which gained a nationwide applause.

This takes me to my next area of investigation, i.e., the status of literary criticism in Peshawar. The literary canon, like always, is a male dominated arena even here. The respondents had some very interesting observations when I asked them about the current situation of Urdu and Pashto literary criticism. Salma Shaheen said, "In Pashto even men are not good critics as there is no competition in this field. Everyone here claims to be a critic. The problem with women is that they do not spare enough time." Attiya Hidayatullah says, "Women, I think, are good critics generally. But men can be better literary critics because they are more exposed academically and have more time to devote to their hobbies and professional activities. Women in our culture have so many domestic responsibilities to fulfill first and only then take out time for other activities." Shamim Fazl-e-Khaliq, believes, "Men are better critics. Women are a little biased. Men I believe are more open and deep." Bushra Farrukh says, "Women haven't really come to the forefront. But some that I have heard or read are very balanced and constructive and have a know-how of criticism."

Like their female counterparts, male writers and poets also believe that literary criticism was not a field very well tackled in Urdu and Pashto literature, at least in Peshawar. Abaseen Yousafzay said, "Never thought about it in terms of gender. I

consider writers genderless. We encourage women poetry because they have female experiences which we don't." Raj Wali Shah Khattak believes, "Less cultural exposure prevents writers from becoming critics. Creative writers are few, women even fewer, therefore criticism is a limited genre. Besides, there's no academic culture here so criticism is very limited among Pukhtoon writers. I have written criticism pieces, prologues and forewords for more than 200 books and have experienced that people (writers and poets) become very reactionary at times." Majid Riaz Sarhadi echoes the same belief, "There are a very few critics here whom we can call critics. In Peshawar there are not very many. The only people, I fee have a critical perspective are Tahir Farooqi, Sharar Nahmani and Professor Taha Hussain Khan. These are just a few people who are or were critics in some respect." Whereas, Yousaf Rajaa Chishti is of the opinion, "Men in general don't really have tolerance. Women due to their biology, I believe have tolerance; women are better learners as well."

Another thing that is closely associated with writing is the question of publication and problems/facilitation associated with it due to gender and ethnicity. It was surprising to see that most of the writers and poets published their works either in Lahore, Karachi, or Islamabad/Rawalpindi. At least most of them got their first editions published outside Peshawar. The reason being, these writers and poets believe that in these cities, particularly Lahore, the publishers and printers have a better know-how, are equipped with better techniques, the paper and printing quality is much better, and the expenses are far less than they are in Peshawar—in short, there people have better sensibilities. Besides, most of my female respondents said that they were 'told' to go to Lahore to get their work published. Even in this field too male writers were better off; they could get their work refereed easily and chase around publishers as well. Attiya Hidayatullah said that a local printing press lost her entire manuscript and did not do anything about it! Even though her husband is a lawyer she did not take any action against the publishers saying, "Being a woman, it is very difficult to follow up on such issues, particularly in our culture." Shamim Fazal-e-Khaliq had an interesting anecdote to tell. She said that she sent her book to a publisher in Lahore who didn't give her any money, played hide-and-seek with her and did not respond to her calls and letters. But after the deadly earthquake of October 2005 he reappeared and wanted to give her the money for the sold out books!

Apart from publishing, circulation and marketing of books is also a problem, chiefly for female writers. Female writers who don't have a long list of public relations usually give their books to friends and family—free of cost. Bushra Farrukh said, "For my first book I didn't know where to go. I'm Hindko speaking but never really had problem because of my ethnicity. I don't write in Hindko; I just can't. At times I got help simply because I was a woman; at others I have had problems. I think being part of the showbiz also helped. But I want to be known due to my work. However, my male colleagues think I get an edge being a woman."

Abaseen Yousafzay said that he did not really have any problems with the publishers. "Unfortunately publishing agencies do not really look at the standard of works; they just care about the name and fame a writer has." Therefore, he believes that his work was accepted not due to family/academic influence, but due to his poetic expertise. Raj Wali Shah Khattak said that he didn't have publication problems as such but was faced with professional jealousies. Majid Sarhadi's recalls that he wanted to publish a book for children but that the publisher based in Peshawar did not think it was such a good idea, but he found a publisher in Rawalpindi. "These days it is very difficult to publish, and more difficult to find an honest publisher," says Majid Sarhadi. Yousaf Rajaa Chishti feels that publishers and their representatives have a very business-like attitude. "Luckily, I can tolerate a lot, but once I too lost my patience with a publisher. He cheated me on the number of copies he would print; he promised to publish 1000 copies but actually published only 250 copies. Therefore, I personally printed the second edition of my book."

As for issues pertaining to gender disparities and human rights, the female writers appear to be more conscious of these issues than their male counterparts. Salma Shaheen is of the view, "We should consider everyone equal, and be above race, ethnicity, colou….I don't believe in one or the other gender but in humanity. I follow Rehman Baba's (a well-known Pashto poet) philosophy: 'do unto others what you want done unto you'." Attiya Hidayatullah said, "Human Rights are giving basic rights to others. We should respect everyone: women, servants, husbands, and children." Shamim Fazal-e-Khaliq says, "I believe Pakhtoon women don't have much of human rights. We still see customs like *swara*[10]; women are still very much dependant on their husbands or other male members of the family for various reasons."

The male respondents, on the other hand, had a more poetic and deeper approach to gender and human rights. Abaseen Yousafzay shares the following two couplets on the two issues:

Khudai da zargay me dumra laway shaway
Chay da hur insaan da dard na rachapair shaway.

(God! May my heart become so spacious
That it houses the pains of entire humanity)

And

Pa jwand kay agay wakhat da kaar shee saray
Da bunyadamo chay pakaar shee saray.

(Man becomes worth the while only
When he is of service to humanity)

Professor Raj Wali Shah Khattak believes, "Human rights are the rights a human gives to himself/herself. Human rights are those rights that the society or government gives

to its people like culture and educational facilities, with no gender discrimination. If tax payers pay their taxes the government should fulfill their basic needs. Socio-economic and cultural rights are important, no doubt, but political rights are more important. Human rights should help collectively and individually from exploitation: global, national, and from individual to individual."

Majid Sarhadi translates his idea about human rights in the following lines from his poem *Yeh Kaisa Insaaf Hai* (What kind of Justice Is This?)

Ya to dookh sookh mil kar banto
Warna chamman kaa naam naa lo
Yeh kaisa insaaf hai
Jis mein sarray phool tumaharay hai

(Either share grief and joy
Else don't talk of the garden
What kind of justice is this
Where only you get the blossoms)

Sarhadi talks about unison and harmony. He says:

Aur in sub ka mil kar rehna
Hum ko daras yehi deyta hai
Mil jul kar rehna accha hai
Apna ghar akhir apna hai.

(And their peaceful coexistence
Gives us this lesson,
That living together in unity is best
After all, this country/world is our abode)

Similarly, Yousaf Rajaa Chishti had his view of gender relations and human rights. To him, "human rights means giving space to others in every respect: inheritance, emotions, needs. We are not really familiar with the Quran; we just read it. In the present conditions look at all these suicidal bombers: it is clearly stated in the Quran that when one kills even a single man he kills humanity/universe. Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) states when a Muslim kills another Muslim he's a *jehanami* (doomed to hell); the Prophet said this unconditionally." Yousaf Rajaa Chishti, though frail and ill, very emphatically talked about human rights and gender disparities and how writers and poets, being sensitive enough write about these issues, are sensitizing the people and helping in change general opinions and trends. At this point his daughter joined us and candidly told me that she will give me the real insight into how 'sensitive' these poets and writers are. She said that ever since her father got ill he got struck off of all the literary invitation lists locally and nationally. She, though wrong fully, believed that he maybe not be a big name but he did help various people in their literary

development. “Don’t forget these are the sensitive people! These poets are against each other; there is so much diplomacy even amongst writers and poets.” But Yousaf Rajaa Chishti took over and continued to talk about the rights of writers and poets. He said, “I don’t think writers and poets have any different rights than others. But a writer does tend to have distinctive obligations due to his/her sensitivity towards humanity, that is, the writer points out the prevalent societal problems and has to suggest remedies.” In one of his couplets he indicates the condition and problem of our people, saying:

> *Bagh-e-begaana key barg-o-baar per rakhi nazar*
> *Aur apnay baagh ko baysumar kartey rahey*
>
> (We kept an eye on the branches and leaves of another’s tree
> Rendering our own garden fruitless)

I also interviewed those writers and poets who write but do not publish. Nasir Jamal Khattak, who writes in English. Khattak told me that he usually writes about love, separation, identity, social problems and education. He said, “There are not many people in Peshawar who read English poetry, though I don’t write only for them. I believe publishers have preconceived notions of people particularly of writers from Peshawar. I write for myself. My poems are my personal and emotional confessions. I never really thought seriously about having my poems published in a book form….There is a bigger readership of essays in English as compared to poetry. I get feedback on essays, tut never on any of my poems that are published.”

Sadia Khalil, who writes in Urdu had different reasons about not publishing her work. She believes, “No one has checked my poems and I feel correction is important. At times, being a woman and single, it is not easy to be able to sit with men, even if they are your teachers, to get your work checked. At some point in my life one of my teachers, who is a good poet and a very good poetry teacher, was very unfair to me academically, but I no longer want to go to him. I don’t think my poetry is good enough to be published. The more I read better writers, the more I feel I don’t write well enough. I want to write about women and their problems but I don’t think I can write as candidly as I would want to. So what’s the point in adding to the tribe of existing writers who talk behind veils? Besides, I don’t want to use a pen-name to publish my ideas cloaked in a pseudo-identity.”

One of my respondents wanted to remain anonymous. Her genre is English and Urdu poetry; her themes include love, separation, identity, hypocrisy and life in general. She does not publish her work because, “What I write is too personal to publish. I don’t really want people to know what I think; I believe it makes you a little vulnerable in front of others. Besides, my work needs a lot of improvement and editing for which, frankly, I do not have time because of my professional commitments.”

Peshawar tends to have a lot of printers and printing presses but not real publishers. These printers print everything from wedding invitation cards to advertising pamphlets. Writers and poets are, no doubt, integral to this research but I also interviewed three leading booksellers of Peshawar, who were once-upon-a-time publishers and printers as well. Unfortunately, all three had a somewhat similar story to tell. I obviously told them that I came to know that most writers in Peshawar had to go to Lahore, Karachi or Islamabad to get their work published, and wanted to know the reason for this. All the three respondents told me, though separately, that they have stopped publishing because it was very costly and that they did not have the expertise that was required with the passage of time. Besides, not many people were writing anymore and that affected their business as well. Now they simply get books and sell them. They do not print or publish books any more. They said that writers, too, preferred to get their work published from other places as it's less expensive. Yet, it was surprising for me to find out that previously they did not have any policy; they would publish whatever came their way.

Conclusion

One of the important things we learnt was that there were gender disparities among writers and that they faced problems due to being male or female. Those who have themselves established have an edge over those female writers who are housewives or are less known in having their work published, circulated, or/and marketed. That people who highlight gender issues in their works are not as sensitive towards female writers as one would expect them to be. Male writers have a visible edge over their female counterparts due to cultural reasons; and it seems that male writers would not want to challenge some of these established conventions. Despite their claims to be gender sensitive, their language and their choice of words show that they are not. As for human rights, most of them had an idea of what human rights were all about but only one knew what they actually were. He even discussed the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan and its role in our society. Similarly, only one writer discussed intellectual rights perhaps because he is a lawyer. Interestingly, none of the writers mentioned any of the thinkers and theorists like Cixous, Kristeva, Irigaray, Morrison etc which shows how these writers do not have intellectual interaction with writers from other cultures.

Writers in Peshawar are struggling for survival. Their lack of knowledge of intellectual rights and copyrights makes them not only vulnerable but also skeptical about having their work published. They can be potentially a good engine for change—a role that they can play only if they themselves are familiar with issues like human rights and gender disparity. One of the ways of sensitizing them and as such others would be to expose them to seminars and workshops. Universities and institutes of higher learning could play a very productive role in raising awareness about gender issues and human rights. This is truer about universities which have stronger departments of journalism. Involvement of media—print and electronic both—can

accelerate the process of raising awareness about gender disparity, human rights, and intellectual rights of writers.

Notes

[1]This paper was written as part of a research required for an ongoing link program between Department of Gender Studies, University of Peshawar and the School of Law, Warwick University, U.K. This research was conducted during May-July, 2007.

[2]Here this quotation is taken from the website http://www.cultureofpeace.org/quotes/humanrights-quotes.htm, retrieved on July 14, 2007.

[3]In Peshawar, people predominantly speak Pashto with some speaking Urdu and Hindko.

[4]This abstract is taken from Saleem Akhtar's *Urdu Adab Ki Mughtasar-tareen Tareegh: Aghaaz sae 2000 Tak* (A Concise History of Urdu Literature upto 2000). For translation I duly acknowledge the tireless help extended to me by Sadia Khalil, Lecturer in Urdu, Jinnah College for Women and Dept of Gender Studies, University of Peshawar. For all subsequent passages translated from Urdu I am indebted to Ms. Khalil.

[5]This information has been paraphrased and translated from Akhtar (2002, p, 600).

[6]Translated from Zaheda Hina. (2006). *Aurat: Zindagi Ka Zindan*. (Woman: A Captive of Life).

[7]Translated from Sadia Khalil (2006). *Adab Mein Nasaee Rad-e-tashkeel*. (Feminist Deconstruction in Literature).

[8]Fazlur Rahim Marwat (2002). "Pashto Literature - A Quest for Identity." This paper was presented in the conference on November 14-15, 2002, at the University of Texas, USA. Here retrieved on July 10, 2007, from http://www.khyber.org/articles/2003/PashtoLiterat.ure-AQuestforIden.shtml

[9]Translated from Bushra Farrukh. (2007). Preface to *Aik Qayamat Hai Lamaha-e-Maujood* (The Present Moment: A Havoc).

[10]*Swara* is a local Pukhtoon tradition where a girl is exchanged as peace price between two rival parties, particularly given to the offended party. She is taken on as a wife by the offended but never really gets the status of a wife.

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MUHAMMAD ZIA-UL HAQ:
The Impact of 'Pakistan Ideology' on Pakistan's Writers (1977-88)

Estelle Dryland
Department of Anthropology
Macquarie University, Sydney, AUSTRALIA

Kitnay bay-dard hain zulmat ko zia kehtay hain
(How heartless are those who call *zulmat* (darkness) *zia* (light),
writer/poet Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan

Cultural hegemony, as exercised by privileged groups in a given society, invariably result in an asymmetric relationship between the dominant and the potentially disadvantaged. 'The relationship between dominant and dependent groups is non-normative in that…the dialogical determination of the rights and wrongs of existing privileges in the light of what is materially possible, is prevented and suppressed'.[1] General Muhammad Zia-ul Haq's wresting of power from Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto in Pakistan in 1977 marked the outset of a decade, which saw Pakistani poets and writers (a) subject to systematically distorted communication and often punishment tailored to fit Zia's personal repressive Islamic ideology, and (b) used by Zia to support his manipulation of religio-political power, ordered to serve his personal ideological aspirations. This paper attempts to throw light on the degree of repression of creative poetic and literary thought and practice exercised by Zia, and on the degree to which Pakistani literati either resisted or conformed.

Chief of Army Staff (COAS) Muhammad Zia-ul Haq assumed political control of Pakistan on 5 July 1977, after deposing Pakistan's democratically elected leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Control was effected by means of a 'constitutional coup' following a mass anti-Bhutto government[2] movement launched by a nine-party political alliance known as the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA—commonly known as the '9 Stars'). Led by Maulana Mufti Mahmood, the PNA presented a curious blend of religious conservatives and socialists, including among others the *Jamaat-e-Islaamii* (JI), *Jamia'at-ul'Ulamaa-e-Islaam* (JUI), *Jamia'at-ul'Ulamaa-e-Pakistan* (JUP), the Islamic democratic Muslim League (ML), the progressive secular *Tehreek-e-Istiqlal* (Independence Party/Movement), the Pakistan Muslim League (PML/Pagaro) and the socialist National *Awami* (Peoples') Party (NAP).

Pakistanis went to the polls in March 1977. Bhutto won, but ultimately his election victory was to sow the seeds for his defeat. Stanley Wolpert states:

> Some 17 million of 31 million eligible voters cast ballots on 7 March 1977. The PPP received less than 60 percent of the popular vote but won more than 75 percent of the two hundred elective seats in the National Assembly. The PNA, with more than 35 percent of the popular vote … was allowed to translate that into less than 17 percent of the seats. Hardly surprising that the PNA cried "foul" and charged "fraud", and immediately announced that it had no intention of contesting any provincial seats on 10 March, for those too would be "rigged" and "stolen" by PPP "election thieves".[3]

The PNA resolved to remove Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) government from power. The latter group's manifesto had guaranteed food, clothing, and accommodation (implicit in Bhutto's Urdu slogan *rotii, kapraa aur makaan* (bread, clothing and accommodation)), an end to oppression, to make medical and educational facilities available to all, and to allow the people of Pakistan to enjoy a peaceful, just and caring existence within an egalitarian society.

Certainly during the period 1972-73, Bhutto provided dynamic leadership. He successfully negotiated the strained India/Pakistan relations resulting from the 1971 East/West Pakistan split and had the 1973 Constitution adopted (see endnote.15). He enthusiastically promulgated but was never able to clearly define his notion of 'Islamic Socialism', which had been part of his 1970 election manifesto. The four mottoes of his PPP were: 'Islam is our faith; Democracy is our polity; Socialism is our economy; and All power to the people'. It was significant that in such a formulation, Islam was described only as a faith and was neither linked clearly with democracy nor with the socialist economy'.[4] Between 1973 and 1977, a combination of class tensions, burgeoning corruption, rising inflation and regional differences had started to take their toll. The Bhutto government, in its growing weakness and isolation, frequently engaged in discourse with the military, which initially supported the Prime Minister against the PNA. 'Against all advice, [Bhutto] started meeting the corps commanders directly and thus dragged them into politics …'.[5] These meetings, however, were understandable given the history of military intervention in Pakistani politics. It may have been that Bhutto was simply being a 'realist', pre-empting any unconstitutional move by his military leaders - the same military he had used to crush Balochistan political unrest.[6]

As regards Bhutto's relations with the Pakistani press, they were not always congenial. Pakistan Press International (PPI), founded in June 1956 as the Pakistan Press Association, gave fair coverage to all political parties, irrespective of ideological orientation. However, dissatisfied with the agency's coverage, Bhutto put pressure on its independence, setting out to destroy the PPI using various coercive measures. He finally ordered that ownership be transferred to a member of his own political party the Pakistan Peoples Party.[7] Mir Khalil-ur-Rahman, a pioneerof journalism in Pakistan, was bullied by Bhutto vis-a-vis the former's newspaper's bold stand on certain public issues.[8]

Stanley Wolpert observes that when Bhutto chose Zia for the top Army appointment, he committed his most fatal error of personal judgment.[9] Hand-picked by the Prime Minister in preference to other contenders for the position, Muhammad Zia-ul Haq, with his carefully cultivated air of simplicity, his religious piety, and his lack of charisma and sophistication, was considered by Bhutto to be the least likely of coup instigators.[10] Bhutto's choice may have been influenced given the history of modern / somewhat westernised martial law administrators that Pakistan had countenanced in the past; Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan, for example. Outwardly the epitome of humility and courtesy, Zia would in time prove to be a despot bent on using Islam to exploit the sentiments of Pakistan's non-literate millions.

The year 1977 saw a seemingly apolitical Zia seriously disturbed by rumours of an impending civil war, which threatened to erupt in the event of an armed clash between PPP members and PNA supporters. The COAS was determined to ensure the security and future of his country, and to these ends he moved to depose Prime Minister Bhutto, taking him into 'protective custody' and housing him in a military guest house in the hill station area of Murree (north-east Pakistan). In this way Zia used the post-election unrest as a pretext to assume power.

In July 1977, following the coup, Edward Behr asked General Zia:

> How and when did you decide the time had come to take this step [impose martial law]? General Zia replied: I am the only man who took this decision and I did so at 1700 hours on 4 July after hearing the press statement which indicated that talks between Mr Bhutto and the opposition [PNA] had broken down. Had an agreement been reached between them, I would certainly never have done what I did.[11]

On the 15th of August 1977, Bhutto was indicted for the murder of Dr Nazir Ahmad, a JI rightist member of the National Assembly. However, the case was dropped due to the time that had elapsed since the murder.[12] The former Prime Minister was subsequently charged with the murder of Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Khan, the father of his political rival Ahmad Raza Kasuri. Bhutto was tried, found guilty, and summarily executed, the decision to execute ostensibly being taken on a deciding vote cast by COAS Muhammad Zia-ul Haq. (The sentence was handed down based upon a split decision by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, which may have been subject to Zia's influence. Zia rejected the appeal for clemency lodged by many world leaders. Bhutto, in his turn, did not request clemency).

In an interview following his elevation to the role of President, Zia stated: 'Whether one likes it or not, whether it is or isn't constitutional, power in Pakistan will always be wielded by the man who sits in the chair of the Chief of Army Staff.'[13]

I

Muhammad Zia-ul Haq was born on the 12th of August 1924 in the Jullundur area of East Punjab (undivided India), into a non-military, middle-class Arain family. 'The Arain were classified as "market-gardeners" who claimed "special" Islamic descent with a strong Arab-orientation, which distinguished them from other Punjabis'.[14] On the 10th of August 1950 he married his cousin Shafiqa in Lahore, a union that produced two sons and three daughters. Zia's military career was impressive. Wolpert observes: 'He was commissioned in the Royal Indian Army in 1945, fought in the 1965 Kashmir War, and had been a divisional commander in the 1971 war. The year before he engineered his coup, General Zia visited the US for advanced military training.'[15]

The official doctrinal position he adopted was in line with the pre-Partition orthodox Islamist thought of Maulana Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi, founder and Amir of the JI movement (India, 1941). Maududi and his followers had opposed the 1947 Partition, protesting that the new Pakistan would be ruled by pro-western secularists. Following Partition, Maududi moved his

headquarters from India to Pakistan, demanding that the newly-created nation state should be an Islamic state founded upon the principles of the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah (sayings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad). Zia-ul Haq articulated certain symbols of identity and exclusiveness (with emphasis on myths of origin) in the promulgation of his personal ideology, which he based upon an Arabicised version of Islam. But in his determination to 'Islamise' Pakistan society, did he selectively overlook the fact that Pakistan's origins are arguably more Indic than Arabic?

Mullaahs (religious practitioners), who previously had little influence outside of their religious schools (*madrasas*), now accompanied Zia on Haj and 'Umra, dined with him, and found support among the trading and business community.[16] Zia undertook the 'Islamisation' of Pakistan's laws, a move in consonance with his own personal beliefs, and an attempt to appeal to the religious sentiments of the *`ulamaa* (Muslim scholars) if not of the majority of the people. By so doing, he created an opportunity to further perpetuate his personally perceived role as leader by Divine Right.[17] Having no specific political foundation, he created this '*Mullaah*-cracy' as his natural constituency.

In 1979, Zia established the Islamic Ideology Council (IIC).[18] Its task was to re-examine the constitution of Pakistan and to delete from it anything that appeared repugnant to the spirit of Islam. Poet Ms Rukhsana Ahmad observes:

> [The IIC] began to undo the minor progressive reforms that Ayub Khan[19] had effected through his controversial Family Laws ordinance to ameliorate conditions for women. As the country veered further under Saudi influence…the [IIC] embarked on a direct collision course with women. A nationwide media campaign entitled 'Chadar aur Chadiwari' … was mounted to enforce the seclusion of women…Government directives concerning the wearing of 'chadars' by television presenters and female government employees were issued.[20]

As a result of Zia's oppressive doctrinal policies, the status of women became markedly retarded. Following the introduction of his Hudood Ordinances in 1979 women were targeted, physically tortured, and placed under constant threat.

The first set of Islamic Laws, the Hudood Ordinances, was introduced on the 10th of February 1979. Under these ordinances, sentences were put in place for offences such as *zinaa* (adultery, for which the penalty is stoning), fornication (100 stripes), false accusation of adultery (80 stripes), consumption of alcohol (80 stripes), and highway robbery (the cutting off of hands and feet for theft, death by the sword or crucifixion for robbery with murder). There are two further forms of punishment, i.e. the law of retaliation *(qisaas)*, and judicial penalties including fines, imprisonment, and lashing. Sentences of amputation (*qat `yad)* of the hand for theft, and stoning (lapidation) for adultery that have been passed by the Pakistan judiciary have not been carried out due to strong opposition from both the medical fraternity and advocates of Human Rights.[21] The law did not effectively clarify the difference between *zinaa*—considered a crime against the state that carries the death penalty—and *zinaa bi'l jabr* (rape). Irrespective of definition, the law lent itself—and continues to lend itself—to abuse by males who want either

to quit themselves of a wife or female members of the family, to wrest property from them, or to re-marry unhindered. Opposition to this pernicious inequity continues to find expression in the work of Pakistan's female writers and poets. In the words of Rukhsana Ahmad:

> The act of stoning a woman to death would be a manifestation of that power sanctioned to give fangs to functionary power at the social level…The stoning of a woman is a means of declaring (as do all other arbitrary sentences, ordinances and directives)…who calls the shots, driving the message home with [the] anticipated paralysing effect.[22]

In an early address to Pakistan's journalists, Zia stated his intent to nurture democracy. Prominent journalist Zamir Niazi observes: 'In his first TV-radio address, Zia stated: "I genuinely feel that the survival of this country lies in democracy and democracy alone".[23] It was seemingly somewhat unique that in the beginning no censorship was imposed by the armed forces following a military coup in a Third World country (in this case, Pakistan).[24] However, on May 13th 1978, ten months following Zia's assumption of power, his military courts sentenced four newsmen to be flogged. The following Press release was issued from the Headquarters, Martial Law Administrator, Zone A (Punjab), on May 13:

> Various summary military courts in Lahore today sentenced eleven journalists…to various terms of imprisonment and released five newsmen…after giving warning. They were tried under MLRs 5 and 33 for organising meetings at an open public place, raising slogans, displaying banners and starting [a] hunger strike.[25]

The convicted journalists, intent upon defending their democratic right to freedom of the Press, were labelled 'heretics' with respect to the 'state ideology'.

Zia's public definition of 'state ideology', which he referred to as *Nizam-e-Mustafa* (System of the Prophet), had a tendency to be ambiguous. At functions over which he presided, Zia stressed that no other ideology in the world was as enlightened as the Islamic ideology, and that there was no discrepancy between Islam and progressive thinking. The President stated: 'UnIslamic and secular ideologies must be confronted and defeated with Islamic ideology. This could be done by spreading the message of Islam and thoughts given by [Sindhi poet and sufi] Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai[26] and Allama [Dr. Sir] Muhammad Iqbal [1877-1938] through their poetic works.'[27]

Zia's personally-conceived state ideology, as imparted to the masses, was a rich if polemic blend of Islamic mores, the secular policies of Jinnah, the Pan-Islamic stance of Iqbal, and the love for humanity expressed in Shah Latif Bhitai's mystical poetry. As a consequence of a combination of Zia's brand of religious orthodoxy, the power of the feudal barons, and a general lack of education, the people of Pakistan were exposed—indeed became resigned—to the lawlessness, dacoity and corruption which was synonymous with the Zia regime. Pakhtun Urdu-language poet Ahmad Faraz, a resident of Lahore, stated: 'We are impervious to it all. There is … a great insecurity about the very existence of Pakistan. I sometimes feel that [the] infrastructure has … rotted. Artists, writers [and] poets are in such dire circumstances that they

are pressured by small temptations [such as] time on TV, radio, [and] jobs in government organisations.'[28]

During the years 1977-88, Pakistani poets who were critical of Zia's personal ideology resorted to the use of classical symbolism in their writings in order to escape government censorship. Those highly skilled in the classical Urdu tradition[29] used ambiguity and metaphor, particularly suited to the *ghazal* form of Urdu poetry[30] to elude censorial attention. The few who would not be silenced directly challenged the government in simple and direct language. For their efforts, several poets and writers were incarcerated in Pakistan's jails, journalists were publicly flogged, and many of the country's most talented thinkers, critics and writers sought self-exile.[31] In the words of Ahmad Faraz:

> [W]riters have had to take shelter under symbolism. There are also writers who have been to jail. I am one of them. Others have been harassed and threatened, even old parents have not been spared…There has been a sort of terror let loose on writers and the written word.[32]

So what were the bases of Zia's objections to the content of the work of poets and writers during his regime? What did he expect of them individually and collectively?

Zia expected Pakistan's writers to produce a 'national' literature. But many of the country's writers, who belong to five major speaking groups – Urdu, Pushto, Punjabi, Balochi and Sindhi (and to a lesser degree Seraiki speakers)—are not closely acquainted with either the geography or the language and customs of their fellow-writers. The work of a Karachi Urdu speaker and that of a Baloch or Seraiki writer or poet may demonstrate considerable differences in imagery and terminology. The only way that Zia could draw these writers together was by enforcing the common thread of Islamisation.[33] As well, Zia did not want to hear any talk about regional issues, concerns, or culture that he considered 'un-Pakistani' and 'un-Islamic'.

One of his chief objectives was to ensure that society accept without question his version of Islam; this, despite the knowledge—if only among the educated—that his interpretation of Islam was by no means definitive, and was close (if not always close enough for their liking) to the position taken by certain doctrinaire religious parties and movements that had opposed the creation of Pakistan. As Chief of Army Staff (COAS), Zia sought to control a predominantly non-literate society (that was beset by political corruption and inter-ethnic strife) autocratically and without that society's consent. To be publicly denounced by Zia as 'anti-Pakistan' was to be portrayed to the public as 'anti-Islam'. Ultimately his goal was to silence all criticism.

Any writer who had previously held a post in any government that did not carry the Zia stamp of approval was replaced by an appropriate pro-Zia member of the intelligentsia or by an inappropriate member of the armed forces.[34] According to Intizar Hussain: '…[T]he cultural and academic institutions were headed and even manned by those who [sh]owed their allegiance to him and who ardently believed in [the] "Nazaria-e-Pakistan"[35] as understood and interpreted by martial law brains.'[36]

II

During the years 1977-1988, some poetry of necessity became de-politicised. In the hands of the more orthodox or opportunist poets, and those not averse to lending themselves to propaganda, works became pro-establishment and Islamised. The populist Punjabi Urdu poet Habib Jalib (1926-93) stated:

> [T]hose so-called writers and poets who remained silent spectators when the people of East Pakistan and Sind were going through…pain and suffering,…[in the] petty interest of getting programmes in Government-run Radio and T.V., were…criminals and could not be included in the sacred movement of progressive writers.…Those writers and poets who go to Islamabad every year to get abused by the "high official" and later on sell their conscience for the "feast" were also granted amnesty by the sponsors of the conference and were included as delegates.…I am disappointed to see that so-called torch-bearers of [the] progressive movement in reality have not made any progress since 1947 but have become part of the retrogressive process.[37]

Classical poets like Punjabi Urdu poet Faiz Ahmad Faiz (1911-84) were sufficiently skilled in the traditional art of ambiguity and metaphor to cloak their revolutionary message.[38] However, this ability did not always keep them out of Pakistan's prisons, nor did it stop the banning of their work. Safdar Mir comments: 'Faiz's poetry—the highest reach of modern creative imagination in Urdu—is never allowed to be broadcast by our media.'[39] The banning of the work of Faiz—who the administration labelled 'communist'[40] but who described himself as a 'humanistic socialist' - may have been attributable more to his reputation as a symbolic political figure rather than to a perceived subversive content underpinning his writing.

Some among the country's writers—perhaps out of economic necessity—were 'won over' by Zia's Islam-oriented paternalistic approach. The following is an example of the type of propaganda that appeared in a recognised pro-government newspaper (*The Pakistan Times)* during the COAS's term in power:

> As one sensitive to the demands of public opinion and ideology of State…Zia was compelled to point out that the government was duty bound to prevent the dissipation of the ideological focus in creative and intellectual writing in Pakistan. There has never been any doubt about the ideological choice of Islam before and after 1947. The conference in Islamabad should be viewed in the correct perspective: being an ideological State, Pakistan must clearly state its opposition to writings directed against its public philosophy; yet, being an Islamic State it must tolerate intellectual opposition. Unlike other ideological regimes, the government of President Zia-ul-Haq has not used coercion against offending writers, has not imprisoned them for expressing secular world-views, barring those who have perversely maligned the faith of the people in the Quran and Sunnah and whose safety in public cannot be guaranteed.[41]

The editorial reproduced above appeared in the *Pakistan Times* in 1983. In light of the floggings, fines and prisons sentences imposed upon Pakistan's writers in 1978, along with the

number of noted writers and poets who chose self-exile over persecution, silencing and harassment, this editorial demonstrates the degree to which some writers either adapted to (or perhaps genuinely supported) the deterioration of literary and moral standards, in order to retain their government incomes. 'Even more reprehensible were those who compromised with the military-bureaucratic combine and became its apologists'.[42]

III

The status of women, who became the butt of Zia's oppressive policies, became markedly retarded. While Zia's *chadar chadiivarii* (veil and four walls) policy failed to inhibit educated Pakistani women, his promotion of the *mullaahs*, a policy strongly influenced by Saudi Arabia and Iran, appeared to find support among many rural or village males. As a consequence of this support, many rural (and to a somewhat lesser degree urban) women continue to be constrained within a system of purdah, which inhibits their relationships, educational opportunities, freedom of movement, vision and dress. Despite their commitment to *chadar chadiivarii*, educated women members of the orthodox religious groups (the JI, for example) may, on occasion, appear publicly in support of fundamentalist issues. (The writer noted during her recent visit to Pakistan that some of these restrictions have been relaxed, particularly those formerly imposed upon women telecasters. In Karachi, with its predominant *muhaajir* component, there is a movement of defiance directed against the threat of Talebanisation, with some urban women wearing sleeveless *kameezes (*long shirt-style garment) and displaying more neckline.)

Poets Fehmida Riaz and Kishwar Naheed were among those who led the female writers' struggle against the oppression of women. Ms Riaz's outspokenness, a trait not encouraged by reactionary governments, resulted in fourteen charges being brought against her by the Zia-ul Haq government. At the time, she worked as both editor and publisher, and it was in this capacity that she drew disfavour. Riaz faced one charge of sedition under the British Clause Section 124a, penalty for which is death by hanging, or fourteen years rigorous imprisonment.[43] Along with her husband and two children, Riaz fled Pakistan while on bail, seeking exile in India.[44] During an interview undertaken on her return to Pakistan in the early nineties she commented: 'Oppress a poet and he or she will only write more on the subject.' Riaz appeared free of any propagandist intention.

Ms Naheed was present at the International Women's Forum (1985) at which there was a strong reaction against male dominance and the subordination of women. She comments as follows:

> We condemned all religion as man-made, all psychology as man-made, all sociology as man-made, all education as man-made, 'Man'—not with a capital 'm', but meaning 'male'. Now women themselves believe in the myth of male superiority—a girl is never trained as a human being for her upbringing is all 'don'ts' and inhibitions. It's like the dramas on Pakistan Television; the endless depicting of violence towards women is only glorifying it, perpetuating it; not doing anything to stop it. It's useless

> asking the men…even in [the] 38 years [since Partition] the men themselves haven't got what they want. You can't ask for freedom from the oppressed…Now we must fight for it and take it ourselves.[45]

Ms Naheed was employed by the Zia government. In light of this fact, her stance could appear somewhat ambiguous, seeming more critical of the distortion of Islam in the interests of male domination over women, rather than of the distortion of Islam by the Zia administration as a means of controlling the masses and perpetuating his own political power. When questioned regarding her government employment, Ms Naheed is reported to have stated:

> I have my options. If I don't like my job or the restrictions imposed by the government, I can always leave. But government has put no restrictions on poetry or any of the fine arts and then, as an individual, I can have my own views about things around me. At this very moment you are talking to the poetess and the private person that I am, so no official questions please![46]

In light of Ms Naheed's comments on the non-restrictive nature of Zia's government, one might question the reason for the exodus from Pakistan of so many of the country's leading writers and poets during the years 1977-88. Acts of banning of the works of poets were commonplace during the Zia years. In July 1986, the Minister for Broadcasting, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain undertook to review the media ban on 'about 40-45 persons including poets and journalists. Maulana Gouhar Rehman and Mr Bashir Randhawa maintained that while reviewing the cases of ban, the Minister must also ensure that poets and intellectuals who propagate [an] alien ideology and are opposed to [the] Pakistan ideology remain banned on official media'.[47]

Also in July 1986, an editorial in the *Muslim* (daily) read as follows:

> That an elected government which claims to be democratic should maintain a "black list" of intellectuals who are to be excluded from the NPT newspapers, radio and PTV is shameful. All the more so since it…officially admitted on the floor of the House [to] having continued such policies of the martial law regime. We see no reason why the poetry or writings of recognised writers and men of letters should be ignored; even some of the poems of Allama Iqbal are banned on radio and PTV.[48]

Political activist, journalist and poet Ms Noor Jehan Siddiqui describes those who are servile and 'shake hands' with any government, irrespective of policy, as 'non-progressive' or 'rightist'. During an interview in 1993, she maintained that when injustices are perpetrated, poets defend all elements of society equally; stressing that at such times party affiliations are forgotten. Ms Siddiqui recalled:

> My mother was from Delhi, and my late father, a progressive thinker, came from Cawnpore. Together they settled in Karachi. My mother was married at the age of

> twelve years and remained uneducated. We are Hindu on my father's side, and as a family we [embraced] socialism and communism. When my father died, I started teaching privately. He had given me, as a woman, full freedom.
>
> I recall Zulfikar Ali Bhutto from my childhood. Like Lenin, he loved children, gave great importance to them. When he was hanged I was very sad, was weeping. Soldiers in the street were weeping, even though Bhutto was hanged by their Chief of Army Staff. Bhutto was the first who dared to speak openly about socialism. Others before him – so-called progressives, communists and socialists – had expounded their theories from air-conditioners drawing rooms and with a glass in the hand. What did they ever do actively?[49]

Ms Siddiqui believed that Bhutto wanted to create a new and better Pakistan, with equal access to education and freedom for all. By contrast, she stated, the Zia regime was brutal.

> Young, highly-educated people could have become pro-Zia in the interests of employment and gain. But they shunned government office. Had they worked, for instance, for Radio Pakistan, they would have had to be pro-Zia. Mr Bhutto had some God-given magic which attracted people to him. When we were young we went to Radio Pakistan to participate in children's programs; then as we grew older, in youth programs. But we stopped our radio/TV activities during the Zia regime as a protest. We had seen a man hanged who always spoke of youth and women and children. We were very emotional. When the PPP came to power in 1988 I returned to perform at Radio Pakistan.[50]

Song and dance courses or performance were eliminated from almost all educational institutions during the Zia regime, although folk dance remained acceptable in Federal schools. According to advocate Begum Zahra Daudi: 'Legally nothing was allowed. He enforced a traditional dress code in schools and colleges and in a bid to remove western influences he insisted that Urdu rather than English be used in government offices. Student unions were banned, and any form of literature which expressed resentment toward the establishment was banned.'[51]

IV

The rebellion and non-conformity evinced by writers, poets and intellectuals during the Zia years resulted in a perceived government need for classification of both the individual and the group apropos of the dissemination of the dictator's Pakistan ideology. It may be relevant here to quote Thomas Szazs:

> To socialize the child, the teacher must emphasize the values of equality, consensus, popularity, and the acceptance of culturally-shared myths. This aim is best achieved by discouraging idiosyncratic behaviour and exploration, and by encouraging conduct favouring group solidarity. Thus, the reduction of choices and alternatives, although inimical to critical education, is essential to socialization, especially in mass society.[52]

Classification in society may be seen as concomitant with constraint. To be seen not to fit into any given or desired social category or 'pigeon-hole' is suggestive of non-conformity. It may be in the case of Ms Naheed that by working for the Zia government, she wittingly or unwittingly placed herself in a situation of symbolic constraint. In the words of Szazs:

> The role of the classification officer, entrusted to a few individuals in the army, is now diffused over all of society. The one thing one cannot be is *unclassified*. The person who is too eclectic in his choices and conduct, and does not fit into one of society's pigeon-holes, becomes the object of suspicion and hostility.[53]

To be a member of a sanctioned literary collective such as the Academy of Letters during the Zia years promised a degree of security as opposed to the loss of liberty suffered by those individuals who believed they reserved the right of criticism. Those writers who chose not to share the politically contrived Islamic values peculiar to Zia's personal ideology, and who failed to be defined in terms of being party to, or member of, the pro-establishment literary in-group, invited the label of 'deviant'.

Individualist critical writers were, in Zia's opinion, party to intellectual anarchy and were to be classed 'ideological aliens'. Addressing the Fourth Writers' Conference convened in Islamabad in October 1983, Zia commented:

> [U]nfortunately the contemporary literature abounds in confusion and [an] anarchy of thought "which can inject disorder into our ranks"….There are two clear, but contradictory streams of thought: While one originates from Islam, its ideology and its values, the other stems from a concept of life based on secularism underwritten with slogans of social and economic justice. Strangely enough…supporters of secularism…drink from the fountains of this country, which was created in the name of Islam. As a matter of principle, these people should have no right to live on this soil, because no ideological state can accommodate the disbelievers of its ideology.[54]

It may be an indication of the integrity and morality of a section of the writers of the time that not one of Pakistan's writers availed him or herself of the University Grants Commission's 1983 offer of assistance for research projects. It may also be the case that a repressive dictatorship had stultified all facility for criticism. The Federal Minister for Education Dr. Muhammad Afzal, when highlighting this omission before the four hundred assembled writers and critics at the Fourth All-Pakistan Writers Conference, emphasised the current low production of purposeful literature. Dr. Afzal stated: 'The conscience of our ethos is an amalgam of our religion and our history.'[55]

President Zia, at the same conference, insisted that there was complete freedom of writing in the country, stressing the generosity of the government in this regard. He added that the government did not restrict the thinking process in the country and had demonstrated total tolerance, 'interning only those who wanted to be the Government's guests'.[56] The President made reference to the plight of dissidents and intellectuals in other countries, which claimed to be founded on ideologies, stating that those who openly opposed their country's ideology were

'either thrown into jails or simply disappeared'.[57] Such speeches demonstrate the blatant hypocrisy of Zia's ideological propaganda, and his undisguised contempt for the writers who attended the function, not to mention their fellow-writers who languished in Pakistan's jails at the COAS's pleasure. Zia continued throughout to distribute literary prizes and to announce special grants for writers, although the recipients of state patronage were usually ranked among the country's lesser-known writers. His government was known, on occasion, to provide medical and travel expenses for writers suffering ill-health.

The government-controlled media constantly stressed the freedom of speech afforded writers, shamelessly and publicly dismissing facts, which must have been obvious to those writers coerced into assembling before Zia in their search for a platform of solidarity. The dictator's insistence that topics centre upon his theocratic ideology stultified creative, critical and intellectual development. In addition, Zia demanded that topics include the history of Pakistan, albeit the re-written history replete as it is with politically manipulated untruths.

Discrimination against Pakistan's writers continued unabated throughout the Muhammad Khan Junejo Prime Ministership. Although by this time the government was decreed to be 'civilian', the COAS also wore the hat of President. Zia's alterations to the 1973 Constitution, particularly vis-à-vis the infamous Eighth Amendment, imbued the President with a dubious power that he called upon to dismiss his hand-selected Prime Minister in 1988. (Muhammad Khan Junejo challenged the military regarding the Ojhiri missile dump explosion in 1988, whereby Pakistan virtually bombed itself. Stinger missiles, destined for supply to Afghanistan, rained down on the defenceless residents of Rawalpindi and Islamabad.[58] Casualty numbers were high. Junejo demanded accountability from the military, and, as a result, Zia in his role of COAS dismissed Junejo summarily. Two further incidents contributed to Junejo's removal: his participation in the Geneva Accord (for the resolution of the Afghan conflict was perhaps mooted *before time* from Zia's perspective) and, at a lesser level, a personal clash between an army officer and a Member of the National Assembly in Rawalpindi).

V

Zia described writers who followed what he called a 'third path'—looking for inspiration outside of Pakistan—as 'very vocal', accusing them of spreading 'their anti-Pakistan and anti-Islam venom in different ways'. He stressed that most of the members of this group were either government employees or received benefits from the government.[59] These particular writers were either inducted into or sought government service because of their educational qualifications, filling posts that required a certain degree of aptitude. They were doubtless more enlightened and less gullible than their lesser-educated counterparts. It seems likely that the government viewed them as politically harmless, and that both employees and government exploited the situation, finding it mutually advantageous.

In the case of Sindhi nationalist poet Sheikh Ayaz, who had been appointed Vice-Chancellor of Sindh University by Z. A. Bhutto, Zia did not immediately remove him from his post. However, whereas the tenures of Ayaz's fellow co-Vice Chancellors were renewed on the

expiry of their terms of office, Zia elected not to renew Ayaz's term. In the eyes of their fellow-writers, those who accepted government posts—like Naheed and Ayaz—were considered to have compromised themselves. Criticism is still levelled at those who appeared to adopt a pro-establishment stance. Masood Siddiqui formed a pro-Zia Writers' Guild called the Academy *Adabeeyat-i-Pakistan,* convening meetings at which Zia would lecture the writers.[60] As Sadiq Jafri states:

> [A]pproval or disapproval of [the] poets was not based on their poetry...but on the poets' political thoughts and affiliations. In [the] case of the poets who had friendly relations with the…[Zia] regime, whether by participating in *Ahl-i-Qalam* [People of the Pen] conferences, or through receiving favours like jobs…there was outright rejection, no matter what they were to say in their poetry. On the other hand, poets who faced victimisation…were given unconditional respect.[61]

Depending upon the area in which he was delivering an address, Zia would extol the virtues and merits of the work of that particular area's noted poet. In the case of Sindh, it would be the verse of the mystical poet-saint Bhitai, whose work Zia found it expedient to compare on selected occasions with that of Allama Muhammad Iqbal. Note Sindhi poet Sheikh Ayaz stated: 'Zia asked me to translate Iqbal's verse into Sindhi. He later said he kept my translation of Iqbal on his table and told people that there was really no difference between Iqbal and Shah Latif [Bhitai].' Ayaz observed:

> Zia didn't believe in Shah Latif or Bulleh Shah. He used all these people. Zia was a man who adopted everything that suited his interests. So he did not mind that Shah Latif was a pantheist because he wanted to use the work of Shah Latif as a bulwark against Communism, which was on the rise in Sindh. …When I translated the works of Shah Latif into Urdu verse, I kept the traditions of Urdu literature in my mind. Zia probably found that some of the poems were near to the message of Iqbal *in translation.*[62] It suited him at that time to use Shah Latif in Sindh. Even now the ministers pay lip-service to Shah Latif for the benefit of the Sindhis—they have never read a single line of him.[63]

CONCLUSION

Zia's communication with Pakistan's poets and writers during 1977-88 took the form of a monological flow of information from the centre of decision-making to the literary public. It set out to erode and/or atrophy any individual creative thought – frequently perceived as 'deviant' – and to have the literati adhere to the requirements of his personal Saudi-oriented Islamic ideology. Zia was guilty of the systematic distortion of the dialogic process. Some writers of the time attempted to transcend any manipulation of their creative thought: others within the perceived freedom allowed them on the basis of compromise – those perhaps in government employment, with families to support - may have entered into a pseudo-dialogical relationship with their leader. Compromise allowed them to retain at least some form of platform from which they could disseminate their message, eluding detection by employing metaphor and traditional romantic imagery in their writings.

Pakistan's writers may have been the most persecuted and affected section of educated Pakistani society throughout 1977-88 due to their general inability to accept the flawed interpretation of Islam, which was promulgated by Zia in the interests of his own political perpetuity. Television and radio exposure was denied those who would not conform to topics specified by the government-controlled media, and those leftists collectively termed 'communists'. Many of the writers, whose aim was simply to continue to write, adopted a diplomatic non-committal stance, focusing on topics like love and nature, or philosophical themes that would not attract the attention of the government.

Zia, along with several of his generals, was the victim of an air accident over Bahawalpur on the 17th of August 1988. There are those in Pakistan who believe that his regime, although oppressive, at least brought some stability to a nation plagued by ethnic tensions, political instability and corruption. However, in the interests of perpetuating his martial law regime, Zia's policies did little to discourage ethnic unrest. Again, Baloch tribal landlord Sardar Sherbaz Mazari (who Bhutto accused of instigating the PNA alliance and who, at one time, had a political liaison with a leftist literary group known as the *Awami Adabi Anjuman* (People's Literary Association) stated that despite being arrested by Zia several times during 1983-84, he knew that his family and honour were safe. The Sardar stated that Zia 'had his morals' as opposed to Bhutto who also jailed the Sardar, subject him to harsh treatment, the threat of being physically dishonoured by male jailers, and intimidated the Baloch leader's family.[64]

Through his manipulative introduction of punitive and discriminatory laws, Zia exacerbated divisiveness and lawlessness in the community, at the same time legitimising – at least in his own mind – the need to prolong army control. He used the discursive skills he had acquired during his lengthy military career to convince Pakistan's educated of his commitment to the preservation of a democracy he perhaps correctly judged to be implicit in the original message of Islam.

In truth, General Zia was neither respected nor well regarded by many among Pakistan's writers and intelligentsia. He was strongly opposed to the type of western liberalism that he saw as influencing the thought and work of many of Pakistan's writers.

Despite his protestations that he was not interested in politics, once in control General Zia rapidly became addicted to political power. However, his own conception of his political role and his relationship to the people of Pakistan seems in many ways consonant with that of a social worker, community therapist or benign mentor to a small-scale society rather than with the ruler of a modern state. In a conversation with Irfan Farooqi, for 'Impact', London, Zia commented: 'I think in developing countries there is a need of a few monitors, a few masters here and there who have the law in their hands and who can wrap [sic] the wrong-doers on the knuckles, so that people abide by the law.'[65]

'The community [therapist]', writes Thomas Szazs, 'must learn how to be a consultant to the community, an institution, or a group [and] must have the community's needs in central focus … [H]e must find himself at home in a world of economics, political science, politics, planning and all forms of social action.'[66] Zia's public statements suggest that he believed he had acquired these skills during his lengthy military career, enabling him to function not only as COAS but to don as well the mantles of both Prime Minister and President and by extension to dominate Pakistan's socio-religious and political life.

Zia appealed to writers to project the 'eternal values and living history of Islam' through their creative writings.[67] In a speech he delivered in the Federal capital of Islamabad in March 1988, he recalled that the valiant Afghan *mujaahideen* had created a living history by shedding their blood in the way of Allah. He expected the writers of the time to base their themes on events associated with the *mujaahideen's* epoch-making struggle against the Russians in Afghanistan. Here Zia clearly demonstrates his stultifying attitude towards writers, that they should conform to Islamic mores as he and his government defined them at the expense of any individual creativity which, given the opportunity, would reflect the intellectual heritage of the country.

One must be careful not to categorise pro-establishment opportunists and non-opportunists. Not all of Pakistan's writers distanced themselves from the Martial Law administration. While some have allied themselves with successive regimes irrespective of political ideologies, others have found it expedient to join government-sponsored literary organisations in order to have some form of literary platform from which to disseminate their message. Many leftist writers and poets, including Faiz Ahmad Faiz and Sheikh Ayaz, used the government-sponsored Writers' Guild under martial law regimes in the belief that it was better to at least have the benefit of some literary platform than to be without any platform at all. It was probably also the case that poets and writers who had families to support may, of necessity, have felt compelled to place opportunity for financial reward ahead of their principles. Others, like Punjabi poet Habib Jalib, simply accepted the penury and periods of imprisonment that resulted from an unswerving dedication to his ongoing fight for the rights and freedom of speech of the Pakistani masses.

Note: I would like to thank Jawad Syed, PhD candidate, Dept. of Economics, Macquarie University, and Ms Sabine Hoffmann, PhD candidate Dept for International Communication, for reading this paper and offering welcome criticism.

Notes

[1]Josef Bleicher, *The Hermeneutic Imagination* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982). p.148.

[2]The Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), founded by Z.A. Bhutto, 1 December 1967.

[3]Stanley Wolpert, *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.283. There is evidence to suggest that there may have been some truth in the charges of 'rigging'. For example, the JI candidate for Larkana (Sindh province) was kidnaPped so that he could not stand against Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). For further reading see http://www.dawn.com/weekly/cowas/20040905.htm

[4]For further reading see: Khalid B. Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan* (New York: Praeger, 1980), Pp.168-9.

[5] K.M. Arif, *Working wth Zia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.87.

[6] Balochistan, a province of Pakistan located in the west adjacent to the Iran border, seems always to have been neglected by successive Pakistan governments, whether military or democratic. Personal working experience in the 80s revealed the poverty that marked the area. In the new millennium, the unrest continues. Balochistan has seen the emergence of the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) which claims it is fighting 'Punjabi domination', i.e. that that Balochistan's natural resources are being exploited by a state aPparatus dominated by Punjabis. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/4182151.stm. This type of enmity existed in earlier times, essentially between the Sindhis and the *muhaajiirs* and the Punjabis. The Pakistan army has traditionally drawn its forces from the Punjab. **F**or additional reading see Adeel Khan, 'National Identity in Pakistan', *South Asia*, Special Issue, vol.22 (1999), 167-182.

[7]Available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan_Press_International#Bhutto.E2.80.99s_regime

[8]Available at http://www.jang.com.pk/thenews/spedition/mkr/min2001.htm

[9]Wolpert, *Zulfi,* p.262.

[10]Bhutto's choice may have been influenced by the histories of past (somewhat secular westernised) martial law administrators, for example, Ayub Khan and his successor Yahya Khan. The former's introduction of a new constitution on June 8 1962 (not put to popular vote) heralded a form of government that was presidential, federal and unicameral. It all but made Ayub a constitutional dictator. See D.P. Singhal, *Pakistan* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall,1972), p.97. Yahya Khan is remembered for being more than somewhat hedonistic and for having presided over the break-up of East/West Pakistan in 1971. Two years earlier he had taken over from Ayub Khan to 'save Pakistan from collapse'. In his role of Chief Martial Law Administrator he handed 'East Pakistan over to the army' thus ensuring its disintegration. In his homeland, Yahya was subject to severe criticism, being accused of having disrupted East/West Pakistan unity. See Singhal (1972), p.203.

[11]Arif, *Working,* p.88.

[12]Wolpert, *Zulfi,* p.313.

[13]*President of Pakistan: General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq,* Interviews to the Foreign Media, 1 March-December (1987), p.2.

[14]*vide* David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam* (London: I.B. Taurus, 1988), Pp. 89-95.

[15]Stanley Wolpert, *Roots of Confrontation in South Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982). A comprehensive overview of Zia's impressive army career may be found in K.M. Arif, *Working with Zia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.66.

[16]The '*mullaah*-ism' that dominates every facet of Pakistani society today can be attributed to Zia's enthusiastic promotion of these religious practitioners - who are often ill-educated but wield considerable influence among the masses.

[17] It may be that his awareness of the fate of the Shah of Iran prompted Zia to conciliate the *`ulamaa.* The two main Sunni schools of *`ulamaa* in Pakistan today are the Barelvi and the Deobandi.

[18]The Council of Islamic Ideology was first established as an Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology on 1 August 1962. It was redesignated Council of Islamic Ideology in Article 228 (1) of the 1973 Constitution. Available at http://www.cii.gov.pk/about/history.asp

[19]President Iskander Mirza aPpointed Ayub Khan Chief Martial Law Administrator on 7 October 1958. Ayub had been Commander-in-Chief since January 1951.

[20]Rukhsana Ahmad, *Beyond Belief* (Lahore: ASR Publications, 1990), p. vi.

[21]Zohra Yusuf, 'The Law of the Jungle', *Herald* (September 1994), p. 57. *vide* also Riaz Ahmed Syed, *Pakistan on the Road to Islamic Democracy: Referendum 1984* (Islamabad: Historical Research Institute, 1985), p.46. *vide* Chapter 12, 'Punishment in Islam', in Muhammad Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1980), Pp.119-32.

[22]Rukhsana Ahmad, *Beyond Belief* (Lahore: ASR Publications, 1990), Pp.v-vi.

[23] Zamir Niazi, *Press in Chains* (Karachi: Karachi Press Club, 1986), p.175.

[24]Niazi, *Press,* p.176.

[25]Niazi, *Press,* p.178.

[26]Sindh's revered sufi poet

[27]'Zia calls for war on all alien ideologies', *Dawn,* 4 April 1985. Iqbal is considered to have been one of undivided India's greatest poets and philosophers.

[28]Yameema Mitha, 'Ahmad Faraz laments growing materialism and passivity', *Morning News,* 27 June 1986.

[29]Urdu poetry was the badge of the Urdu-speaking North Indian migrants, who settled in vast numbers mainly in the urban areas of Sindh province after Partition in 1947.

[30]For details of this form see Estelle Dryland, *Faiz Ahmad Faiz: Urdu Poet of Social Realism* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1993).

[31]West Punjab's Faiz Ahmad Faiz, NWFP's Ahmad Faraz, Sindh's Sheikh Ayaz and Punjabi Habib Jalib were all detained in Pakistan's jails. For details of Faiz's involvement in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case – when he was sentenced to death along with others for suspected plotting to over throw the Liaquat Ali Khan government - see Estelle Dryland, *Faiz Ahmad Faiz: Poet of Social Realism* (1993**).**

[32]Mitha, *Morning News,* 27 June 1986.

[33]Pakistan may to some extent be held together by politically induced confrontation with India (over the Kashmir issue, for example) but to date there seems little evidence that it can be held together solely by Islam. In October 2000 in Islamabad I witnessed several street wide banners drawing the people's attention to the plight of their Muslim brothers in Kashmir. This form of emotional manipulation aPpears to rouse shared Islam-oriented sentiments in the Pakistani, rather than sentiments related to Pakistan itself. Pakistanis tend to become temporarily united by media reports of threats to Muslim communities e.g. Kashmir, Chechnya, Bosnia, and Sinkiang.

[34]In Pakistan today, under the civilian-military Musharraf regime, all institutions, including those in the Northern Areas (Disputed Territory) are under the jurisdiction of the military. This includes energy, hospitals, telecommunications, cultural, and some academic institutions. Up to the time I left Baltistan (Northern Areas) in October 2000, twelve civilian ministers in Islamabad had resigned their Musharraf government posts, protesting that they were little more than clerks in the administration. For further reading regarding the legitimacy of Pakistan's administration of the 'Disputed Territory' *vide* 'High Court of Judicature, Azad Jammu and Kashmir', *The Verdict on Gilgit and Baltistan (Northern Areas),* 1993. The term 'Northern Areas' aPplies to and includes Gilgit, Baltistan, and the Frontier *Illaqas* (Areas). The latter include Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Yasin, Kuh, Ghizar, Ishkoman, and Chilas.

[35]'Theory of Pakistan'

[36]Intizar Hussain, 'Massacre of Writers', *Frontier Post,* 19 February, 1991.

[37]'And rebel with a "cause" speaks', Staff Reporter, *Daily News,* 8 March 1986.

[38]Faiz penned the following lines on the death of his friend Mian Iftikar ud-Din. '*You flutter your eyelashes at me, my Beloved; there is no need, for already I have given my heart to you'* What Faiz is in fact saying is*: 'You cast stones at me; there is no need, for already I have given my life for the Homeland'* Personal communication with Mrs Mahmud Ali, Sydney, who personally discussed these lines with Faiz. Frequently the 'Beloved', essential to classical Urdu poetry, became depicted as the 'Homeland'.

[39]Safdar Mir ('Zeno'), 'Ghalib to Jalib – and Faiz', *Dawn,* 11 March 1984.

[40]Faiz's English wife Alys stated in an interview that Faiz had never been a Communist Party card carrier. Personal communication Alys Faiz.

[41]'Intellectual Commitment', Editorial, *Pakistan Times,* 9 October 1983. For a discussion on Pakistan as an 'ideological state', *vide* Hamza Alavi, 'Pakistan and Islam: Ethnicity and Ideology', in Fred Halliday and Hamza Alavi (eds), *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1988), p.65.

[42]'Role of Writers', Editorial, *Pakistan Times,* 1989. Interestingly, this reversal of attitude in the *Pakistan Times* suggests that the pro-establishment editors of the Zia years had been replaced following his demise in 1988.

[43]Personal communication with Fehmida Riaz, Karachi 1993.

[44]Her choice of India as a place of exile drew much unfavourable general comment in light of the animosity toward India that often aPpears implicit in the Pakistani psyche.

[45]'Kishwar Naheed's summing up', *Viewpoint,* 29 August 1985.

[46]Interview with Kishwar Naheed (courtesy *Khaleej Times),* 13 May 1988.

[47]'Media ban on poets/writers to be reviewed', *Pakistan Times*, 30 June 1986.

[48]NPT = National Press Trust, PTV = Pakistan Television

[49]Personal communication with Noor Jehan Siddiqui, Karachi, 1993.

[50] N.J. Siddiqui, Karachi, 1993.

[51]Personal communication with Begum Daudi, Karachi, 1993.

[52]Thomas Szazs, *Ideology and Insanity* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), p.142.

[53]Szazs, *Ideology,* p.208.

[54]Sikander Hayat, 'Zia for "full freedom" to write', *Dawn,* 6 October 1983.

[55]Hayat, 'Zia for "full freedom", *Dawn,* 6 October 1983.
[56] 'Zia urges writers to help nip intellectual anarchy', *Morning News,* 7 October 1983.
[57]'Zia urges', *Morning News,* 7 October 1983.
[58]I personally saw some of the damage in 1988.
[59]'Zia urges writers to keep national interest supreme', *Business Recorder,* 26 June 1985.
[60]Personal communication with poet and editor Qamar Jamil, Karachi, 1993.
[61]Sadiq Jafri, 'Musha'ira that became a jalsa [public meeting]', *Sun,* 17 January 1989.
[62]My emphasis
[63]Personal communication with Sheikh Ayaz, Karachi, 1993.
[64]Personal communication with Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, Karachi, 1993.
[65]*President of Pakistan* (1987), p.216.
[66]Thomas Szazs, *Ideology*, p.178.
[67]'Zia urges writers to project Islamic values', *News*, 28 March 1988.

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Gender Role in the Use of Rangeland Resources in Semi-Arid Region: A Case Study of Karak District, North West Frontier Province (NWFP) Pakistan.

Iffat Tabassum, Fazlur-Rahman & Amir Khan
Department of Geography, Urban & Regional Planning
University of Peshawar

Abstract

Gender division of labor is one of the main characteristics of traditional societies. In most of the developing countries of the world activities associated with agriculture and animal husbandry are performed by male and female based on cultural recognition and societal norms of the communities. It has been empirically proved that females are usually working more than males. In this regard, the semiarid mountainous parts of northern Pakistan have no exception. This paper is an attempt to investigate the role of women in the utilization of rangeland resources in southern North West Frontier Province. Karak district has been selected for this research. Data has been collected through stratified random sampling, and a self-administered questionnaire survey was conducted in the selected villages. All the respondents were female engaged in rangeland-related activities. The results of this study reveal that women are the main users of rangeland resources both in terms of activities and frequency of use. The rangeland products supplement the household needs and many households are also selling these products in the market for earning off-farm income. For many households, particularly the poor ones, these products are the only sources of cash income. The degradation of these resources is now becoming a major threat not only to the subsistence of the poor household but it is also causing heavy damages to the environment.

Introduction

Gender and division of labor that depends on its recognition are decisive elements giving mountain societies stability and cohesiveness (Illich, 1982; Abu-Lughod, 1985). Gender roles exist in all spheres of traditional societies throughout the world, and begin with the division of labor within the family. In the mountainous regions of the developing countries including Pakistan, majority of the activities associated with agricultural and animal husbandry are distributed on gender basis (Hewitt, 1989; Parkes 1987; Herbers, 1998). These socially determined roles for men and women are culturally accepted, locally created and are given the status of being natural and normal in many traditional societies. The division of labor and the roles assigned to the sexes vary according to age, household size, and socio-economic conditions. Besides, the geo-social conditions play a vital role in determining the roles and allocating the activities (Parkes, 1987; Hewitt, 1989; Azhar-Hewitt, 1999; Herbers, 1998, 2000a, & 2000b; Cacopardo & Cacopardo, 2001). Compared to irrigated areas and plains, Khan further argues that participation of women in economic activities is higher in rain-fed/mountainous regions (1997).

Usually in peripheral and less developed areas, the role of women in the use of natural resources is greater than that of men who normally have direct involvement in timber extraction (Barke, 1993; Herbers, 1998). In marginal areas women play substantial role in collection, transportation, utilization and processing of non-timber forest product (NTFP) both for self-use as well as for off-farm income generation to supplement the household needs (Iffat, 2005 & 2007). According to Azhar-Hewitt (1999) in subsistence economy womenfolk contribute their share in three different ways. They enable their men to work outside the village: they replace them in their absence and they themselves produce for the subsistence economy. Empirical studies reveal that 70-80% of rural women in Pakistan participate in economic activities, while the remaining work in providing support mechanism integral to the rural economy of productive system (Shaheed & Mumtaz, 1990). Researchers say that in most cases women are involved in subsistence agriculture and animal husbandry, especially in the mountainous regions of the world (Rhoades & Thompson, 1975; Brush, 1976, 1982; Brush & Guillet, 1985; Guillet, 1983 and Ehlers and Kreutzmann, 2000). In this context, rangelands located in the vicinity of villages function not only as grazing land but also provide fodder for stall feedings. Fuel wood for cooking and heating, building material and food items for the family are also collected from the rangelands. Most of these products are consumed within the household; however, some of the rangeland products are also sold in the market after processing.

Rangelands are one of the most important resources of the arid and semi-arid ecosystem and millions of people around the world living in the marginal areas heavily depend on rangelands for their subsistence survival. These areas are also functioning as a major habitat for dry land fauna and flora. Rangeland also provides opportunities for additional employment and income to the indigenous population. As part of their survival strategies, the inhabitants living in that environment also collect different products. In semi-arid mountainous regions, rangeland constitutes over 80% of agricultural land use, and has a critical role in the agro-pastoral systems; therefore, it must be recognized as a vital natural resource at the policy making level (Tutwiler, et al. 2001).

In the present research an attempt is made to study the resource utilization system in the semiarid mountainous region of North West Frontier Province. The main focus of this research is to explore the role of womenfolk in rangeland resource utilization. The study focuses on the contribution of women in household economy through the collection and sale of rangeland products.

Material and Method

This study is based on empirical research carried out in one of the arid and semi-arid mountainous district of north western Pakistan. For the purpose of data collection, ten out of 105 villages were selected. The sampled villages were located in the foothills of Khattak range. The selected villages were visited and surveyed by self-administered questionnaire. Two different types of questioners, one for the community and another

for individual household, were used to collect the required data. In the selected villages 10% household were selected for interview through snowball sampling technique. All the respondents in this case were female and were actively engaged in the collection of rangeland products. The respondents for the second questionnaire (community) males were also interviewed. All discussions, interviews and questions were asked in their native language for clear understanding, which were later on translated into English. Focused on group discussions with the notables of the villages were also conducted to understand the old utilization and management system. For enhancement of the accuracy, the collected data were crosschecked with official records and scientific works conducted on this theme in the above area.

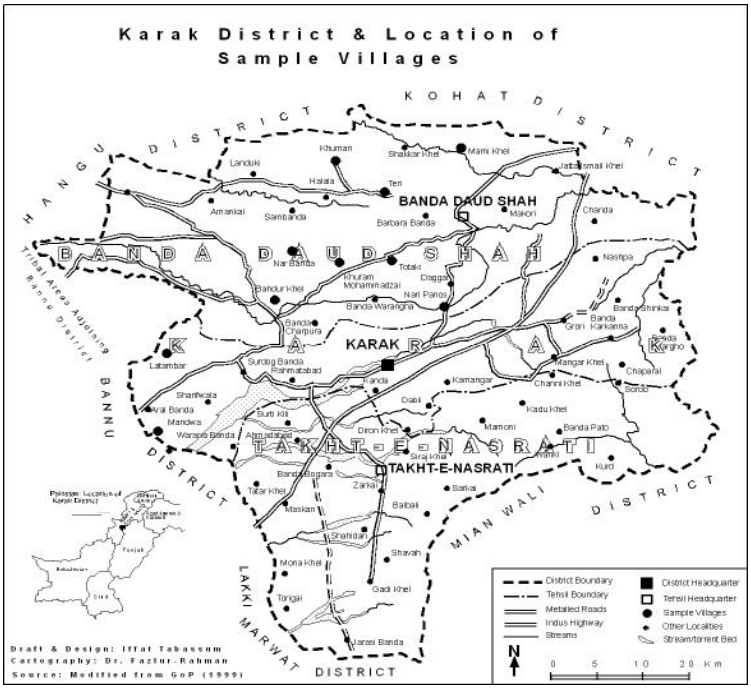
Characteristics of the Study Area

Karak district is located in the southern part of NWFP covering a total area of 3,372 square kilometers. It lies between 32˚48' to 33˚23' north latitude and 70˚40' to 71˚30' east longitude. According to the census of 1998 (GoP, 2000) total population of the district was 430,796 persons. Females constitute 50.9 % of the total population. Physio-graphically, this area is mountainous with broad valleys and interlocking spurs. The altitude of the district ranges from 300 to 1400 meters above mean sea level. This whole region of southern NWFP including the study area is arid with an annual average precipitation of 330 mm that is also highly variable in terms of time and amount.

Terrain condition and availability of water are the major constraint for agriculture. Area suitable for cultivation is limited and only 18.8% of the total area is cultivated. Rain-fed (*barani*) agriculture is predominantly practiced in the district and only 2% of the total cultivated area is irrigated. The arid and semiarid climatic conditions have a significant impact on the vegetation cover and only 2.1% of the district is under some form of drought resistant plants. Compared to other districts of NWFP, this figure is very low.

From an economic point of view, this region is lagging behind when compared with other areas/districts of the province (GoNWFP & IUCN, 1996). The employment opportunities are very limited as there is no big industry. Therefore, most of the educated people and skilled labor are migrating to other localities within the country and abroad in search of jobs. The remaining population who does not have the capability to diversify their economy are heavily dependent on local resources, particularly on the commons. These marginal groups, including landless, tenants and subsistence farmers, wage-labor; nomads, and women heavily depend on rangeland resources to meet their subsistence needs and to generate additional income. Such groups gather a wide variety of products from the commons, state forests and private marginal lands for both domestic and commercial uses. These include grasses, manure, medicinal herbs, oils, building materials and raw materials for handicrafts, resin, gum and honey.

In the study area rangelands are kept under communal ownership and locally known as '*Shamilat'*. Mountain slopes, land with no or low capability for crop cultivation and the banks of the seasonal torrents serve as rangeland, usually used for grazing, and collection of rangeland products.



Analysis and Discussion

Being the most widespread land use (more then 60 %) of the region, rangeland is extensively used by the local people, particularly women folk for household needs and cash income generation. Rangeland in the area is not only the provider of different products but also is the source of additional cash income. It is also one of the important sources of non-agricultural employment for those households having no other income generating sources. The data collected through questionnaire survey reveal that in the study area both male and female use these resources. However, the involvement of women is greater in terms of participation ratio (196:39), number of activities (8:4) and frequency of visits made to the rangeland (Table 1).

Table 1 Karak District: Gender role and frequency of visits for various activities.

Activities	Carried out by	Frequency of visits
Collection of fruits and vegetables	Female	Occasionally
Collection of fuel-wood	Both	Twice a weak
Collection of animal dung	Female	Daily
Collection of fodder/grass	Female	Daily
Collection of *Mizary* Palm *(Nannorrhops ritchina)*[1]	Both	Seasonally
Collection of medicinal plants	Female	Occasionally
Hunting	Male	Seasonally
Collection of plants for washing cloths	Female	Occasionally
Construction material	Male	Occasionally
Mud and clay	Both	Occasionally
Salt	Male	Occasionally
Honey	Male	Seasonally
Animals grazing	Both	Daily
Broom making	Female	Daily

Source: Field Survey September/October 2003

Women were found more actively engaged in majority of the activities, ten out of fourteen activities were carried out by the woman folk compared to male members who were involved in eight activities. Four activities were performed both by males and females, while six were exclusively performed by females such as collection of fruits and vegetables, medicinal herbs, animal dung, grass for broom making and washing cloths. Only four activities were carried out exclusively by male including hunting, collection of honey, construction materials, and salt. The frequency of visits to the rangeland also shows an interesting situation that male are only involved in those activities which are carried out either seasonally or occasionally. Moreover, time required for these activities is also less. Contrary to this, women are the more frequent visitors involved in activities that need daily visits like grass and dung collection. Some of these activities do need even more than one visit per day (Table 1).

On the average women spend five to six hours per day in rangeland related activities in collection of the products and their processing. The highest time was spend by women in village Latamber where rangeland is located away from the village in hilly and difficult terrain, while least time was required in village Khumari that is located in the foot hills (see map). Time calculation for man was not possible as their involvement was in discrete types of activities but according to their own estimate they spend on the average twenty to thirty hours per year. Details of village wise time spend by women is shown in Table 2

Table: 2 Karak district: Village-wise Time Spend by Women in Rangeland

Village	Average time spend in rangeland
Latambar	7-8 hours per day
Mandawa	4-5 hours per day
Totaki	4-5 hours per day
Mami Khel	3-4 hours per day
Teri	4-5 hours per day
Khumari	3-4 hours per day
Bahadur Khel	5-6 hours per day
Nar Banda	5-6 hours per day
Khurum	6-7 hours per day
Nari Panos	4-5 hours per day

Source: Field Survey September/October 2003.

In addition to supplement domestic necessities, rangeland resources are also used widely for income generation in most of the households. Differences were noticed in the amount of cash generated through these activities in different villages but on the average each household, engaged in rangeland product collection, was earning more than 60% of the total household income from selling these products. Cash value of the products was relatively low in villages located close to the source region, whereas the monetary value of these products was substantially high in village located away from the hills. However, the household residing close to the rangeland were getting maximum benefits from these resources and heavily depend on the rangelands.

During the research information were also collected from the respondents regarding the duration of rangeland utilization. Majority of the responds (37%) were involved in the collection of rangeland products for the last 20-30 years. It was followed by those respondents who are involved in this activity for the last two decades. They constitute more that 33% of the total respondents. The gender gap can be easily seen in the duration of rangeland utilization (Table 3). In each time frame women were the dominant users and spending more than half of their life in the collection and processing of these products. It is expected that female folk of the poor section of the sample villages continue this activity and in near future no drastic change is expected both in the allocation of activities and dependence on these resources.

Table 3 Karak District: Gender-based duration of rangeland resource extraction

Duration in years	Gender.	Respondents	Per cent	Both sexes	Per cent
<10	Male	2	6	36	15.33
	Female	34	94		
10-20	Male	10	13	78	33.19
	Female	68	87		
20-30	Male	15	13	87	37.03
	Female	72	83		
>30	Male	12	35	34	14.45
	Female	22	65		
Total	**Male**	**39**	**17**	235	100.00
	Female	**196**	**83**		

Source: Field Survey September/October 2003.

Problems and Constraints of Rangeland Management

From centuries the local people have managed to use these resources in a sustainable way. They have developed local level strategies to cope with the main threats of population pressure, over exploitation and climatic variability. Before 1960, these social institutions were very effective and the communities were regularly observing seasonal closure (*nagha)* and ban was usually imposed on the collection of rangeland products. The sanctions on the visits and reopening of the rangeland were properly decide with consensus and publicly announced well before coming into force. For the regeneration and sustainability of the rangeland resources, *nagha* systems were always observed during the spring season for two weeks and following heavy rainfall in July and August for two months. With changes in the social life the effectiveness of these rules also declined. Moreover, for the last four decades these resources have been used throughout the year without any break. During recent drought spell the dependence on the natural resources considerably increased as the output of agriculture almost reduced to nil. Simultaneously pressure on fuel wood also increased and people started cutting the scarce vegetation for selling in the market. The combined effect of these factors led to extensive extraction of wood/grass and overgrazing in the rangeland. Consequently the natural vegetation didn't have the chance to regenerate and many areas lost the native cover.

In the due course of time particularly due to anthropogenic factors and non-equilibrium dynamic patterns (Nüsser 2002: 219), many plant species especially those which are used for fuel wood and fodder has been almost disappeared. Fuel wood has become a serious problem causing conflicts with the nearby hill tribes and the females are covering longer distances for its collection. Apart from these social problems many environmental problems have been noticed by the researcher and reported by the local people. Flash floods were unknown in some parts of the study area now became a frequent phenomena. Soil erosion is another serious problem and both water and wind are the important agents and removal of natural vegetation further accelerates this process.

Majority of the respondents were of the view that natural vegetation in the area has deteriorated both in quality and quantity in last about fifty years. Prolonged droughts as a natural factor might be one of the principal cause, however it has been further intensified by increasing human intervention

A key factor for sustainable rangeland management is the ability to use indigenous institutions in order to conserve biodiversity and maintain proper access and withdrawal right to these resources (UNDP, 1997). These local level rules and regulations are essential for the proper use and management of common resources, sustainability of the rangeland ecosystem. In the study area though weakened, there are some rules and norms for the said purpose. These are implemented by committee consisting of respectable, influential and key persons of the respective villages. The degree of strictness varies from village to village and from resource to resource. The maximum restrictions are on tree cutting while the minimum on grass cutting. There is no restriction on the collection of edible and other non forest products. In some villages these rules are followed more strictly, whereas in few villages the implementation of these rules is quite weak. Local people are well aware of all the rules and norms and in certain cases following them without any implementing authority. In villages where locally formulated rules and regulations are strictly implemented the defaulters are heavily fined for noncompliance. The maximum fine imposed on the defaulters is up to rupees 4000. Moreover, in extreme situation the notorious defaulter are also punished in the form of social boycott.

For last few years, the local people have realized the fact that the diminishing of social institutions has devastating effects on the natural resource management and as well as environment. Rules are reformulated to safeguard the vegetation to give chance for its regeneration. The local people are now reconsidering the indigenous mechanisms such as *Naga* system, and the application of traditional rules and regulation to conserve their valuable resources. Thus the traditional environmental knowledge as well as local norms and myths are getting importance in the social life.

Findings

Rangelands are one of the main natural resources base in the semiarid mountainous regions of Pakistan. The inhabitants of the dry land heavily depend on rangeland resources. This study reveals that a variety of rangeland products are collected to supplement the subsistence household needs. Women are the main users of rangeland. They are mainly involved in the collection, transportation and processing of these products. The contribution of male in these activities is very low. They are involved in very few activities that are performed occasionally. Contrary to this, women are daily visiting the rangeland and spending up to seven hours in collecting grass, dung and other products of daily use. Most of these products are consumed to fulfil the domestic need of the household. However, many households are also earning cash income from the sale of these products. In terms of duration of

rangeland resource utilization women are also on the top. More than 60% of the female are involved in these activities for the last 30 years. It means that they have a substantial knowledge about the resource as well as changes that have taken place in the last three decades.

This research also shows that rangelands in the study area are deteriorating with the passage of time. This can be attributed to anthropogenic factors and non-equilibrium dynamic pattern. Population growth, long-term drought conditions and weakening local level control mechanisms further accelerating this process. The local inhabitants are aware from this state of affairs and they are trying their level best to combat this situation. They do have the capacity, knowledge and managerial skills to change the existing scenario. However, due to changes in the socio-economic structure collective survival strategies in terms of mutual cooperation and implementation of locally formulated rules for resource utilization is weakening. The degradation of these resources is now becoming a major threat not only to the subsistence of the poor household but it is also causing heavy damages to the natural environment

Note

[1]It is a drought resistant perennial plant mostly found in southern NWFP. It is usually used as a raw material for making handicrafts.

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Is Democratic Decentralization Truly Participatory in Nature?

Johar Ali
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of Peshawar

Abstract

Participatory approach is nowadays considered one of the basics of development. Its significance has been realized in almost all fields. It is likely to take a central place in areas where the top-down development approach is still practiced. Belief in its promising results has moved donors, policy-makers, planners and other stakeholders to carry out development activities purely in line with participatory development philosophy. Recently, the decentralization approach has suggested various structural changes in government institutions and policies to devolve power to people at the grass roots and empower them to participate actively in the decisions that affect them. Like other changes, decentralization envisages democratic decentralization/local government as the best and most effective mechanism to ensure a power shift to the grass-roots and realize sustainable development. In this paper, however, it is argued that matters are not so simple. There are certain factors that impede the participatory/empowerment theory proposed by the decentralization approach in the recent local government system. These factors may be political, economic, and sociological; however, the paper confines itself to a critical analysis of the role of central government and local elected officials in influencing democratic decentralization/local governments in employing participatory approach.

Introduction

Development has been the focus of all regimes. To this effect, different strategies have been initiated to ensure meaningful development. In the past, the centralized/bureaucratic government structure was considered an effective mechanism for realizing development. The centralized development approach vested powers in the centre and exhibited no element of people's participation in development activities (Ingham and Kalam, 1992; Charlick, 2001). Its intervention strategy was top-down and central government was considered a panacea for all ills and a system for efficient economic development (see Ouedraogo, 2003). However, such centralized development planning/practices failed to ensure development in the way it was theorized (Bardhan, 2002). To realize development in practice, a most cherished concept, i.e., 'decentralization' emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. Its aim was 'enhanced administrative and economic efficiency, improved implementation of development program, and in the best situations, a greater degree of responsiveness to local needs' (Ingham and Kalam, 1992: 374). To improve administrative and economic efficiency, advocates of decentralization believe in transferring authority and power from the centre downwards to local government, non-governmental organizations and voluntary organizations (ibid).

Decentralization is defined and explained in different contexts (see Ouedraogo, 2003; (see further details below)); however, this paper treats it as confined to democratic decentralization or, in other words, local government. Theoretically, local government (LG) is distinguished by a participatory or locally empowered structure that devolves powers to the local people to control or influence the decision-making process (Ouedraogo, 2003). In other words, local government is responsive and accountable to the voters (Krishna, 2003) - here it refers to locals- and, hence, represents their views, priorities and, in short, conforms to the features of participatory development (see Khan, 2006). Thus, local government, a sub-national structure, provides an opportunity for local people to manage their activities in an empowered way and influence the central government structure, to plan development policies and programmes in the light of local needs (Smith, 1996).

Theoretically, democratic decentralization presents quite an appealing picture for feasible development; however, it is not so simple in practice. The premise of this paper is tha local government works at the grass-roots level but the elected members of LGs and the central-level government impedes the process of grass-roots level participation/empowerment in decisions. Locally-elected members utilize the LGs' services solely for their own interests and to strengthen their own positions. Likewise, central governments hesitate to devolve powers to the LGs. These problems at both local and central levels discourage the process of participatory development and maintain the status quo. To understand the way these factors paralyze the decentralization process, the paper consults the critical literature and evaluates how various factors influence the participatory ideal. To develop a holistic picture and comprehend the issue more clearly, the paper first introduces the current trends in decentralization, its overall philosophy and the democratic decentralization. This will, on the one hand, provide a theoretical framework for the study and, on the other, provide a basis for subsequent analysis. A critical analysis is offered of the way the elected members in the LGs and the central governments perform their roles. To understand the issue thoroughly, secondary literature, consisting of various case studies undertaken in different countries, is analyzed to recognize the different strategies adopted by these actors in influencing the performance of local governments.

Decentralization, democratic decentralization and participatory development

In the past, central governments performed everything by themselves and provided no space for local structure to influence their policies. In other words, the centralized approaches to development were purely 'top-down' and held the state to be the sole powerful entity responsible for planning and designing everything (Weaver, 1981; Hulme & Turner, 1990; Pieterse, 1998; Mohan & Stokke, 2000). It is important here to explain that in the past the centralized system regarded economic development as the pivotal point and its ensuing benefits were believed to trickle down to all sections of society (Wilson-Moore, 1996). Thus, its objective was to maintain control over all the policies and implement and direct the development programs from above. This approach did have some success in terms of economic development but failed to

realize social development (Hettne, 1990; Milani, 2003). By lack of social development, Hettne meant that the poorest remained poor and no improvement was found in their lives. Hence, in recognition of the failure of the centralized system, decentralization emerged as an alternative (Hafteck, 2003) for greater improvements, improved service delivery, meaningful development and local empowerment (Conyers, 2003; Ouedraogo, 2003; see Norris, 1983). Its emergence is considered to be caused by different factors in different countries (Escobar-Lemmon, 2006). In some countries, its reasons have been political, economic and social, in others (such as eastern Europe and Latin America) it emerged in a response to demands from below, in some countries (such as Uganda & Ghana) it appeared as a part of the process of national reforms (Devas & Grant, 2003) while in others (West Africa) it emerged as a result of conditions imposed by donor agencies on the aid-receiving countries, that they decentralize their government structure and allow democratic and participatory decisions (Ouedraogo, 2003). Its overall philosophy, as reflected above, revolves around privileging local people (Kjosavik & Shanmugaratnam, 2006; Wunsch, 1991) and restructuring the government to be responsive to the local needs and demands (Escobar-Lemmon, 2003). In short, it stresses a bottom-up approach and creating space for democratic government structure (see Ayee, 1997).

As far as the term decentralization is concerned, it has no clear meaning because of its different contextual use (Conyers, 1984; see Smoke, 2003). As Fesler, (cited by Ali, 1987: 787) explains it from four perspectives i.e., 'as a doctrine, as political process in a given political setting, as an administrative problem, and finally as an administrative process involving forced choices and changes in the functional and area-based administration and between the regulatory… and development functions of appointed and elected officials'. Mutizwa-Mangiza (1990: 424) defines it in relation to four dimensions: such as 'devolution of local government, de-concentration of central government's field administration, delegation to parastatal organizations and privatization'. However, the classification of decentralization by the World Bank is a bit different. It explains decentralization in terms of political, administrative, fiscal and market decentralization (Turner, 2002). Meanwhile, the conventional approach takes a legalistic perspective and explains it as 'devolution to locally elected political authorities and de-concentration of administrative authority to representatives of central government agencies (Conyers, 1983: 102). This prevalent diversity with regard to the nature of decentralization creates problems for an agreed upon definition which can cover all its possible features and present a holistic picture. However, more succinctly, decentralization, according to Rondinelli (cited by Ali, 1987: 788), refers to the transfer of 'authority to plan, make decisions and manage public functions from the national level to any individual, organization, or agency at the sub-national level'. This definition, of course, does not explicitly explain the nature of 'authority transfer' and other possible issues; however, it does reflect the participation and empowerment of the local people that remained ignored by centralized governments. Furthermore, according to Rondinelli, Nellis and Cheema (cited by Ali, 1987: 788-9) the purpose of transfer of power from national to sub-national level is to obtain 'self-reliance,

democratic decision making, popular participation in government, and accountability of public officials to citizen'. As explained above, this process incorporates de-concentration, privatization, devolution etc. However, its pivotal feature is empowering people at the grass roots to drive the national level policies and programs from below and govern themselves. To ensure a meaningful shift to the grass roots level, democratic decentralization is considered to be the basic local structure that has the potential to encourage a bottom-up approach to development. The question of what local government means and how decentralization represents it is described below. However, before explaining the details, it is important at this stage that the available literature on decentralization has not exactly reflected LG in the light of participatory development theory. This paper, therefore, tries to relate LG or, in other words, decentralization with participatory development. The idea of linking the two concepts together is based on the common features between the two, such as 'self-reliance', 'participation', and 'central government accountability to the local people'. This attempt, relating LG to participatory development, offers a new area of work for theorists, academics, development specialists and other stakeholders to find feasible approaches for its realization.

Democratic decentralization/Local government

Interest in LG is not new. Rather it dates back to the 1950s and 1960s. The decentralization programs during the 1950s and 1960s- in the garb of LG- started, particularly in Anglophone Africa after its independence. LG was considered an essential part of the overall democratic government and believed to share the burden with the central governments- which were not strong enough, at that time, to meet the needs of the people. Furthermore, it aimed to encourage political education of the local people, who, during the colonial rule, had no chance to participate in governments' policies and decisions (Conyers, 1983). Such development was not only confined to Africa; it also happened in Pakistan and other de-colonized countries (Wunsch, 2001; Guess, 2005). The nature of LG in these newly independent countries was not very dissimilar from the colonial powers but for the newly independent countries its objective was to show that they were more concerned with achieving democracy and meeting local needs, to which the colonial powers had paid no attention (Conyers, 1983).

Besides these functions, the past LG system did not enable independent and empowered decisions. For example, in Latin America, LGs had no financial and political autonomy and, hence, were unable to perform any major function in the government (Fiszbein, 1997). In other words, they were used as a means to accomplish governments' development programs more efficiently (see Ouedraogo, 2003). In certain cases, such as Pakistan, they were developed for certain political purposes and vested interests. For example, Pakistan always saw implementation of LG during periods of military rule. First, it was General Ayub Khan (1958-1969) who introduced it as 'Basic Democracy' to elect the president of Pakistan. After his fall, it was General Zia-ul-Haq (1979-1988) who introduced it with certain modifications. However, it was

discontinued after Zia's death and reintroduced in a new style under 'the devolution plan' by General Pervaiz Musharaf in 2001 (Government of Sind, n.d.). All this reflects that its promulgation was intended for legitimacy purpose, as well as continuing development activities through such local bodies. Moreover, it is safe to say that the earlier LGs did not have the features of the present day decentralization idea, which revolves around the idea of devolution, de-concentration, privatization or, in short, local empowerment.

The present day LG, idealized and presented under the decentralization theory, is different in terms of its structure and functions from the earlier (Taylor and Brown, 2006). It is now structured under the devolution approach, which that transfers tremendous powers and functions to LGs. More specifically, devolution, according to Manor (cited by Khan, 2006: 53) 'is the transfer of resources, tasks and decision-making power to lower level authorities, which are (a) largely or wholly independent of the central government, and (b) democratically elected'. Thus, this definition clearly represents LG as an independent body wherein the locally elected people decide in accordance with the local problems and needs. Apart from its independent status, it is considered as an effective local level structure that provides the opportunity for grass roots people to participate in decisions at all levels. In other words, it is a … 'participatory institution…under popular control' (Ali, 1987: 787). It not only ensures the accountability of the central government to local citizens but also makes the elected officials responsive to the non-elected citizens (Devas & Grant, 2003). In addition, it provides an opportunity for powerless people to gain control over their legal rights, escape the 'deprivation trap' and influence decisions (Ingham and Kalam, 1992: 375). More broadly, Blair (2000) reflects the importance of LG not only as a way of community empowerment but as an effective way of poverty reduction. He explains that local government provides the opportunity for all kind of people belonging to different ethnic groups and classes to contest elections and represent their particular people. After they, both men and women, get elected, they concentrate on the well-being of their people and, hence, get empowered to initiate actions desirable for them. They work for the betterment of all and, hence, their policies lead to poverty reduction and greater equality. In addition to its role in poverty reduction, LG contributes to political stability and national integration and provides local people with control over resources (Hadiz, 2004).

LG is generally considered to be characterized by various distinctive features. Khan (2006: 59-61) in this respect describes that LG leads to 'efficient and accountable government' because it works close to the local people (Burke, & Wellbeloved, 1970) and follows their directions. It formulates development plans in accordance with actual local needs and takes quick actions. This is possible mainly because of LGs independent status and lack of bureaucratic structure. In this way, LG reduces the cost and the probability of corruption at both central and local level. Secondly, it ensures 'better local development.' It encourages the participation of the local people in formulating policies and plans appropriately in the light of local needs. In this way, it

encourages the concept of ownership and sustainability of activities. Participation in this way not only ensures the success of activities by mobilizing local resources but also helps in combating wider and local problems inhibiting the process. Thirdly, it promotes democracy, people's participation/empowerment and liberty. Thus, all this presents a quite holistic picture of LG and reflects its participatory development features quite clearly. In short, it is an efficient system (Sellers & Lidstrom, 2007; see Imrie & Raco, 1999) that empowers the powerless and ensures equality (Ribot, Agrawal & Larson, 2006). Its efficiency and empowering feature can be understood in terms of Charlick's (2001: 150) view of LGs as 'public bodies accountable to a geographically-based local constituency and that…have substantial independence from central or local administrative agencies.'

All this description presents LG as an autonomous local structure that follows a participatory development approach. However, this paper considers it not so simple in practice. To understand its theorized presentation, the following description critically analyses the role of central government and local elected officials in influencing LGs' performance.

LG and Central government

Decentralization considers central government as supportive of LG in maintaining its autonomy and downward accountability (Faguet, 2003; Wunsch, 2001). Of course, in many countries the central governments might be assisting LGs in different activities; however, they might not help them to become autonomous entities independent of their control (see Hill, 1987; Sharma, 2005). The autonomous status of LGs leads to the weakening of central governments in implementing their policies. Thus, realizing such threats the central governments monopolize central resources and discourage the LGs from undertaking activities that might strengthen their position (see Liu, Song & Tao, 2006). The national governments encourage LGs only if they do not threaten the former's integrity (Charlick, 2001). Monopolization of central governments has been found in various countries. For example, in Ghana, the decentralization reforms were undertaken to strengthen the LGs and allow the national government to play a supportive role. The idea behind such reforms was to alleviate poverty by involving the local community in development activities. However, the centre, rather than facilitating LGs, constrained their activities and relegated them to dependent entities (Crawford, 2008). Blair (2000) found similar results in a study of six countries (Mali, Ukraine, Bolivia, Honduras, India and Philippines), where autonomy or, in other words, devolution of power to the LGs, was merely an idea. There were certain reforms in the health sector but in practice, the local officials (elected people) could not make any decision relating to it. The centre determined health employees' salaries, posting etc and the Mayor had no control over them. In theory, the LG was responsible for keeping the centre accountable to local people but in practice the central bureaucracy was reluctant to lose power and stand accountable to the grass roots people. The same situation has also been observed in Kenya (Wallis, 1990). The Kenyan government exhibited tremendous enthusiasm in strengthening LGs towards

meaningful decentralization. It initiated certain steps to ensure strong and independent elected governments at the local level but in actual fact it failed to do so. It controlled the finances from above and monopolized all the major decisions. Such monopolization resulted into LGs' failure to realize its theorized ideals (ibid).

The autonomy of LGs has been subjected to harsh treatment almost everywhere. Rondinelli (1983), in this respect, while referring to decentralization's- LGs'- effectiveness in eight Asian countries, presented different factors responsible for the ineffectiveness of LGs. Among other factors, the national bureaucracy in Sri Lanka resisted facilitating LGs to work effectively for local level development. The national bureaucracy was more loyal to its own set-up/structure and, hence, did not want to endanger its integrity at any cost. It intervened in the political process and discouraged any move towards the autonomy of local governments. To explain the situation further, Rondinelli (1983: 49-50) refers to Wanasinghe's remarks:

> The general thrust of these interventions have been towards maintaining individuality and autonomy of respective departmental cadres, strengthening the role of the bureaucracy in decision-making, enhancing career prospects through island-wide services. These thrusts have continuously run counter to attempts at implementation of local area-focused coordination, delegated decision-making by peoples' representatives, and creation of self-management organizations with their own personnel.

This elaboration shows central government as self-centered and unwilling to devolve power downward to local institutions (Wunsch, 2001). It is important to note that not only the central level bureaucracy but also the local bureaucracy—the local public officials—also show allegiance upward to central bureaucracy and not to the elected officials of the LGs, as they are theoretically required to do (Guess, 2005). For example, in Ghana, the local officials followed the central bureaucracy not the local elected officials. The elected officials complained but were helpless to move them. LG's officials decided whatever suited them and showed loyalty to their seniors at the centers (Wunsch, 2001). The same findings have also been uncovered by Rondinelli (1983) in Asia. He found that despite the Sri Lankan Prime Minister's clear orders to local public officials to co-ordinate activities within districts, a large number of field staff resisted that instruction and in practice followed the directions of the central bureaucracy- their officials- not the district level elected officials. The reason behind it was that they considered the district a temporary assignment. This phenomenon is observed in many other countries as well (see Rondinelli, 1983; Ribot, Agrawal & Larson, 2006). In Ghana, for example, by law, the local officials were accountable to elected members but in practice they dominated the decisions and relegated the elected officials to a secondary position. The reason for their dominance was their association with the top-level bureaucracy who monopolized and controlled almost all the policies (Crook, 1994). Hence, such monopolistic and non-cooperative behaviour of central

government provides no room for local governments to stand independent, autonomous and free to follow the philosophy of participatory development. Furthermore, such behavior promotes upward accountability and discourages downward accountability- which is the distinctive ideal of LG. Thus, on the one hand this is the central government while on the other hand the elected officials endanger LGs' participatory ideals. How they do so is analyzed below.

Local Government and elected officials

Local government, as stated above, is praised under the decentralization theory for its distinctive participatory approach. Its distinctiveness is mainly attributed to its empowering nature (Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1990). Besides, it provides an opportunity to the poorest of the poor to gain control over the decisions that affect them (Devas and Grant, 2003; Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1990). In theoretical discourse, it is distinctive in terms of its participatory nature (Escobar-Lemmon, 2006; Devas, 1997), but in practice, I believe, it privileges the local elected officials. Elected officials might be comparatively more responsive and downwardly accountable than the centralized government (see Veron et al., 2006) but to expect them to ignore their own interests and devote themselves to others' interests is against human nature (see Macionis, 1999). Elected officials in various cases, have been found inward-looking and monopolistic. For example, in a study conducted in Pakistan, the elected officials monopolized a development project. They made all the decisions pertaining to it exclusively and ignored the non-elected people. The non-elected members felt unhappy over their biased treatment but were helpless to influence the officials. Their non-participatory behavior resulted in the project serving the interests of the elected people only and discouraged its participatory ideals (Ali, 2008). The same situation has also been found in Mali where the elected officials were corrupt and associated with the national political groups. They showed no downward accountability to the grass roots and monopolized all decisions exclusively (Charlick, 2001). The reason behind these officials' arrogance and non-accountability, according to Smith (1996), is their being 'rich.'

Theoretically, the system of LGs is an effective strategy to devolve powers to the grassroots; in practice, the community elites use it for empowering themselves rather than the people. Poor people are unable to contest elections and get the support of the general masses because of the traditional power structures. Thus, LGs, in this way, further reinforce the prevalent power structure and prevent the powerless from participating in the decision-making process (ibid). Almost the same views are held by Blair (2000: 24-25); however, he goes somewhat further by referring to the powerful groups working in the background and deciding 'who would contest the election and what he/she would do.' In his study of the participation and accountability in six countries, he found that elected officials no longer represented the local people in a true sense. In Karnataka they controlled and utilized the available resources for their vested interests and provided no space for the marginalized classes. They even manipulated the participation of the scheduled castes. By law, under the *Punchayati*

Raj of 1960, the scheduled castes were allowed to be represented in the councils but in reality, the 'local patrons' decided everything and, hence, nobody could make independent decisions, whether to contest elections or do anything else. This phenomenon also prevails in Pakistan and other developing countries (Rondinelli, 1983). The negative role of elected officials has also been reflected by Wunsch (2001) in a study of decentralization in African states. He finds no sign of local officials' accountability to the locals. Rather than taking locals into their confidence, they developed business terms with the local officials and distributed the benefits among themselves. In this way, they became 'bureaucrats' to benefit only themselves and sabotaged the idea of participatory development.

Conclusion

The above analysis uncovers the problems confronted by democratic decentralization in employing a participatory approach. It reflects that democratic decentralization, under the decentralization theory, is theoretically a potential system for restructuring development thinking at the grass roots level but in practice the central government and the locally elected representatives paralyze it to the extent that stakeholders at the grass-root level do not have an opportunity for an active participation in developmental activities and schemes. Owing to the counterproductive attitude of the central/local governments, no proper system has yet been evolved based upon check and balance mechanism. The existing system puts the representatives in a privileged position, pushing people into the background. Therefore, the need of the hour is to re-consider the case in such a way as to evolve sustainable mechanisms for promoting participatory approach to development.

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The Role of Migration in Lexical Variation of the Arabic Dialect of Tirat Haifa

Mahmoud El Salman
&
Thomas Roche
Department of English Language and Translation
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Sohar University

Abstract

This study investigates lexical variation in the speech of Tirawis who emigrated from Tirat Haifa (Palestine) to Irbid (Jordan) as a result of the Arab–Israeli war in 1948. Based on data collected in naturalistic interviews with 48 participants, the authors argue that migration, which brought about the abandonment of traditional way of life, has lead to many lexical items disappearing from use. While elderly group members interviewed categorically preserve lexical items unique to the Tirawi dialect when discussing farming, middle-aged and young ethnic Tirawis use the same Tirawi lexical items at a very low rate if at all. This study also shows that prestige has not played a crucial role in the diachronic change and variation amongst the group studied as no new local lexical items have replaced the abandoned items. The study suggests that when a community migrates and abandons traditional practices (e.g. farming) lexical items relating to that practice disappear. We found that names of practices and tools last slightly longer than names for the constituent procedures and parts of those practices and tools respectively. Familial dialect terms such as /xayta/ ' my sister', /xayya/ 'my brother', /siidi/ 'my granddad' and /sitti/ 'my grand mum' are more readily preserved even by the younger generation than names of tools and traditional practices (e.g. food preparation).

Introduction

The village of Al-Tira, also referred to as Tirat Haifa (i.e., "the Tira of Haifa") to distinguish it from similar places, is located on the northwestern slopes of Mount Carmel, Palestine, overlooking the coastal plain abutting the Mediterranean Sea. The Crusaders called it St.Yphan de Tira (Khalidi, 1992: 195). In 1596, Al-Tira was a village in the nahiya of Shafa (liwa' of Lajjun), with a population of 286 (Khalidi, et al, 1992). A recent archaeological survey has indicated that the village has a history of continuous settlement which can be dated to the Paleolithic era (Khalidi 1992: 196). In 1947 its population was recorded as 10, 000 (El Salman, 1991). Tirawi livelihood was based around the cultivation of crops such as olives, almonds, grains and the herding of stock, predominately ungulates (sheep and goats) before the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 forced this agrarian community into migration.

The emigration of Tirawis led not only to the scattering of those people across the Middle East but necessitated a change in the lifestyle of those people. The Tirawi, who were experienced workers in animal and crop husbandry, searched for new sources of income in the towns and cities in which they then found themselves living. There is no

reliable data on where and in what numbers Tirawi resettled. The majority of Tirawis were relocated in a refugee camp in the western part of Irbid, Jordan, there they were accommodated in housing units in which their tradition agrarian lifestyle was no longer possible.[1]

Al-Tira not only completely emptied of its original inhabitants but also of the Arabic Tirawi dialect which was spoken there until 1948. The Tirawi dialect migrated with its users to Jordan where contact with other Arabic dialects of the Levant was inevitable. Three major factors are believed to endanger Tirawi dialect to the point of extinction: 1) The death of many elderly Tirawi who still use this dialect; 2) the abandonment of this dialect by younger generations as a result of their contact with new dialects (El Salman, 2003); and 3) the change of in the material circumstances in which the Tirawi now live. This study explores the extent to which the third factor might have affected the Tirawi dialect, specifically in relation to lexical items.

Section 2 provides background information about the village and villagers of Al-Tira (Tirat Haifa). The dialect of Tirawi in Al-Tira before 1948 is described before a description of the dialect and life of the Tirawi in modern Ibrid (Jordan) is given in Sections 3. The methodology of this study is described in Section 4, which is followed by a presentation and discussion of the findings in Section 5. The authors then draw some conclusions about lexical variation amongst Tirawi speakers and language change across time in general in Section 6.

The dialect of Tirawis in Al-Tira before 1948

As noted in section 1 prior to 1948 the majority of Tirawis worked the land, farming crops or herding livestock (El Salman, 1991). These two practices were central to the life styles of the Tirawi and their dialect pre-1948 reflects their world at that time. It was not uncommon for the Tirawi to know various names for the animals and crops they dealt with. Sheep, for example could be called a /□abuur/ if it was less than one year old, / anyyih/ if it was roughly two years old and /hirmih/ if it was four years of age or older. There were lexical items used to denote the animal's role in its flock, for example /daluul/ is a term used to name the sheep who guides the rest of the beasts and typically wore a bell around its neck. The bell itself was called /□aras/ when it was made of /copper or brass/, /qirqa / when it was bigger and made of iron, and /Tabal/ when it was even larger than the //qirqa /. Sheep were also classified not only based on age and role but according to their appearance. A sheep was referred to as a /sabħa/ when the hair of only its forehead was white but a /maġrah/ when it has a white face and a /malħa/ when its ears are whitish or with white spots. In others words, as primary preoccupations of Tirawis were reflected in their dialect. It was at that time necessary to communicate the age and appearance of the sheep during the process of selling, buying, and slaughtering the beasts.

A life spent working in animal husbandry necessitated that the Tirawi developed knowledge of their stock and terms to express this knowledge. These dialect unique

lexical items lent an economic specificity to their discourse making communication more effective, they enabled speakers to replace explanations which would have otherwise run into phrases with single words. For instance, / annyah/ could replace: “this sheep is two years old”; and the word /daluul/ could be employed where elsewhere a speaker would have to say: “this is the male sheep with the bell around its neck that is given special hay” (as the Tirawi used to give /daluul/ the best /tibin/ 'hay' they had). A concept such as “sheep which are owned for the purpose of being sold” are called /Tar□/ and the man who owns them is called a /Tarii□/, which roughly translates to English as ‘stock trading shepard’, but if they are “sheep which are owned just to feed the members of the family”, they are called /manuuħah/. Goats were referred to as /isamrah/ with the rope made from their hair being called /roma/. These cases illustrate some of the numerous Tirawi dialect lexical items which are related to stock management as a means of livelihood.

Cultivation was equally central to Tirawi life pre-migration and this too was reflected in their dialect. Different names were given to the parcels of arable land where they planted their crops depending on the kind of produce. For example, the place where /□ummaam/, /baTiix/ 'water melon', and /qii ah/ 'cucumbers' were planted was called a /miq ah/ 'cucumber bed', while it was referred to as a /mazra ah/ ‘farm’ or a /bustaan/ ‘orchard’ or a / ħaqil/ ‘field’ if it had other crops. /qamħ/ ‘wheat’ was also a major crop planted by Tirawis. Elderly Tirawi know a variety of names for the sowing of corn seed depending on the period it is planted. For example, if it is planted early in September or October, the verb used for this process is /3alliif/ and if it is planted late in April it is called /lax□ih/. /safiir/ is a term used to describe the state when it is time to harvest /qami/. The process of piling it is called /taġmiir/, and the women who used to carry out this job were called /ġamarat/. The process of carrying it is /ra□d/ if it is done with the help of animals but it is referred to as /taħmiil/ if it takes place with vehicles. /zituun/ 'olive trees' were also a major cash crop in Al-Tira. The top of this tree was called /qanqozih/, and the hole found in its stem was calld /□oħmaq/.

There are numerous sayings and parables in Tirawi which also reflect this speech community’s cultural bond to agricultural life. A hen is called /do□a□ah/ but once it has eggs it is /qroqah/t. One common saying is: /faqasat liqroqah wila ba dha/ 'has the hen laid eggs yet or not?” Note that the word /qroqah/ is a shibboleth that sets the Tirawi dialect apart from other local Arabic dialects. This word is a reflex of old Arabic *quruqah* which other Arabic speakers in the region would pronounce as \?ru?ah\ or \grugah\. TheTirawi dialect is one of the few Arabic dialects in Palestine that preserves the classical \q\ in its phonemic inventory (El Salman, 2003). One common saying is: "fulaan baTnoh mi il □oħmaq iz-ziituuneh/ 'that person's tummy is becoming like the hole found in the olive's tree's stem’. This is said when wanting to describe a person who is very thin. Classical land division techniques were also used in the Al-Tiraw region. Property was traditionally separated by a marker called a /qa qoor/. A /qa qoor/ is made by some stones stacked on top of one another. Tirawis also used this image to create one of their proverbs: /fulaan □aalis mi il il-

q qoor/ 'that person is sitting like a pile of stones'. It is used to describe a person sitting by close by the road's edge. These examples provide some indication of the lexical items and expressions which characterized Tirawi dialect pre-migration in 1948.

Tirawis in Irbid

The Arab-Israeli war of 1948 led to an emigration of 900,00 Palestinian refugees, there under 10,000 Tirawi speakers. The UNRWA (United Nation Relief and Work Agency) intervened setting up camps for those immigrants who went to Jordan. The majority of Tirawis settled in Ibrid, Jordan. In the camp in Irbid each family was given a very small housing unit. In the camp, without access to agricultural land Tirawis found that their stock management and agricultural skills were of no benefit. Many Tirawis found menial employment in the UNRWA, others began training or studies which allowed them to gain employment as teachers, doctors and engineers. The Tirawi community relocated together still identify themselves as the Tirawi (El-Salman, 2003).

Methodology

Our study is fully dependent on naturalistic speech. All the interviews were made using the face-to-face technique for obtaining data on linguistic variation. The participants were Jordanians citizens, who are either originally from Al-Tira in Palestine and who migrated to Irbid or are their direct descendants and identify themselves as Tirawis. Typical interviews began following greetings and exchanging of family information with questions regarding changes in season (landscape, fauna, flora and seasonal foods) which lead to discussions about issues related to farming and/or agricultural life.[2]

This study was conducted according to the Labovian Paradigm. Interviews were conducted in shops, offices, houses, and workshops in Irbid (Jordan). The site was determined by the possible availability of informants. The author who conducted the interviews was a male Tirawi, his large social network enabled him to draw his sample from different strata of society and from both sexes. The fact that he belongs to this group helped him avoid the inherent difficulties of male-to-female interviews and as such we were not obliged to engage a female research assistant to conduct interviews[3]. The social network framework was followed so that informants were approached in the capacity of "a friend of a friend" or in some cases "a friend of a friend of a friend" (Milroy and Milroy, 1978). Some group conversations between Tirawis where recorded in shops and houses where this was possible, these recorded conversations can be considered as "a supplementary check on these face-to face tape-recorded interviews" (Labov, 1972: 13).

The size of our sample 48 is proportionately similar to the number of informants used in many comparable studies, for example the number of informants in Trudgill's (1974) study was 60 in a city with a population of 118, 610, and the number of informants in Daher's study (1998) conducted in Damascus, was 46. Labov (1966:

638) notes that: "the structure of social and stylistic variation of language can be studied through samples considerably smaller than those required for the study of other forms of social behaviour". The 48 Tirawi speakers then generated in their speech the data on which our conclusions about Tirawi dialect as it was spoken in 2008 are based.

A pilot study was first undertaken to show how dialect usage varied amongst Tirawi speakers and to identify lexical categories which would be suitable for detailed investigation. Ten elderly informants were interviewed during which time we asked them to inform us about their life in Al-Tira. The aim of this preliminary investigation was to elicit Tirawi dialect lexical items relating to their former lives in Palestine and the environs of Al-Tira. These items were classified according to the discourse they were related to, such as the physical environment (for example lexical items relating to the sea or the mountains), means of existence (both agricultural and stock working strategies and tools) and the family sphere (kinship terms). We also encouraged discussions which elicited those words where we were aware that the local Ibrid lexical item differs from the item used in Tirawi dialect. Our aim here was to see whether local (Ibrid) words have been adopted in favour of native (Tirawi) ones and explore the social implications this preference might suggest.

In order to make sure that this lexical change is not the result of language change in lexical items concurrent in the Arabic speaking world due to the adoption of new technology, we have chosen lexical items where the Ibrid variant has existed for at least a generation. In order to do this, we surveyed Jordanian Ibrid speakers across three generations. This enabled us to find out if the non-Tirawi lexical items used by Tirawi speakers were: a) established lexical items belonging to Ibridian speech; or b) borrowings from other dialects with which Tirawi speakers were in contact in the refugee camp. It is still conceivable that some of the non-Tirawi variants used were neologisms, where lexical items were identified as neither being a) nor b) this was recorded and will be discussed below.

Table 1 shows the lexical items that were chosen following the pilot study in order to investigate variation:

Table 1 Lexical Items used in interviews

English Equivalent	**LD (Local Ibrid dialect)**	**TD (Tirawi dialect)**
Boundary mark	Ru□om	qa qoor
Spoon	m lagah/mixchagah	Zalafah
Pot	s ħlah	Qi□anyyah
A man who owns sheep	ġnna:am	Tariich
A chicken when it has eggs	g adah	Qroqah
A small hole in a mountain	Mjħarah	Toqas
Gleanings, grains left in the field after wheat has been harvested	ajiir	aqiir
Planting corn late in the season	Luksi	lax□yah

Trough	Jabyah	Raan
Farm	Saħrah	Miq□ah
Carrying the corn on camels or donkeys	Rknah	Torjod
A piece of cloth used to stop sheep's kids from drinking its milk	□amlah	Mixlah
A piece of wood used in the plough'	bala ah	Zalafah
A sick sheep	Mj omah	wirwar
Colostrums	Laba	Chmandorah
Dress	Fostan	Fostyan
Small piece of wood used in the plough	Asfiin	Fijlah
Ram	mirya	daluul
Sheerling	□a iryah	sa orah
Kid'	Tili□	aboor

Findings and discussion

Before moving to the discussion, the following abbreviations are to be clarified. TLIs (Tirawi Lexical Items) LLIs (Local Lexical Items) refer to those terms which can be identified as used by the speakers of the Ibrid Jordanian dialect. When neither the local nor the Tirawi lexical items are known by the interviewee we use the abbreviation NN (Not known).

Table 2 Distribution of informants by sex and age

Sex **Age**	**M**	**F**	**Total**
Young	8	8	16
Middle	8	8	16
Elderly	8	8	16
Total	24	24	48

With regard to the speech of Tirawis, Table 3 shows that TLIs (Tirawi Lexical Items) are used at a rate of 94% among elderly male Tirawis and 93% among old females Tirawis. Thus, the highest rate of occurrence of TLIs is found in the speech of the elderly. SPSS statistical analysis also indicates that age is very significant in the use of TLIs (P<.05 while P<000 for age with regard to the use of TLIs).

Table 3 The distribution of the variable (Q) by age and sex

Sex	**M**				**F**			
Age	**[TLIs]%**	**[LLIs]%**	**[NN]%**	**N**	**[TLIs]%**	**[LLIs]%**	**[NN]%**	**N**
Young	2	1	97	145	2	0	98	180
Middle	3	3	94	100	4	6	90	160
Elderly	94	2	4	190	93	3	4	180

The data suggest that elderly Tirawis categorically use the native lexical items and

both sexes in this age group behaved linguistically similarly. Elderly Tirawis used to use and hear these words while they were living in Al-Tira as members of an agricultural or pastoral society. In Irbid, Tirawis did not maintain their previous lifestyle and thus the opportunity to be frequently exposed to LLIs used in these two fields does not exist for the younger generation. As a result, Tirawi words remain the dominant words in the speech of the aged. There is another objective factor that makes the elderly preserve their native dialect. Le Page (1997) notes that an individual's tendency toward language shift could be constrained by four factors, among which is age itself; as people age they are less likely to change their speech habits.

Table 3 shows that there is a drastic decrease in the use of TLIs by members of the middle-aged group. The rate is 3% among men and 4% among women. The rate is also very low in the speech of the young recorded as 2% for both men and women. Participants in the middle-aged group either: a) arrived in Jordan when they were five years old or younger; or b) they were born in Jordan. In other words, the members of the two youngest cohorts did not experience firsthand the lifestyle lived by the elderly in Al-Tira. In addition the high rate of NN shows that neither the young nor the members of the middle-aged group have abandoned the TLIs in favor of LLIs as TLIs have not been replaced by LLIs. In other words, table 3 shows that young Tirawis and the members of the middle-aged group are not aware of TLIs and that they most likely are not aware of LLIs either. As such, abandoning the environs of Al-Tirat where the use of these lexical items was integral to the survival of the community directly lead to the disappearance of these words. Thus, table 3 shows that there is an abrupt generational variation in the speech practices of Tiraws in that while TLIs are used at a higher rate in the speech of the elderly, they are used at a very low rate in the speech of the middle-aged group and the speech of the young, respectively. Prestige has not played a crucial role in this process of variation as the abandoning of TLIs did not occur in favor of LLIs.

To prove that forced migration and the subsequent loss of livestock and agricultural land is the primary cause of lexical change as opposed to other factors such as modernization, we expanded our research to include Jordanians. Table 4 shows that while among Jordanians modern technical terms for agricultural tools and farming methods have replaced the traditional terms, the Tirawis of all generations show that they are not familiar with the modern technical terms.[4] It shows that while 35%of old Jordanians use MLIs, only 1% of old Tirawis use MLIs. 55% of middle-aged Jordanians are familiar with MLIs while 2% of middle-aged Tirawis are familiar with MLIs. 20% of young Jordanians use MLIs while 0% of young Tirawis use MLIs. This shows that Jordanians who still work in the pastoral and agricultural sector have learned new terms related to technological advancement and machines such as: tractors along with their parts and inoculations for animals. The Tirawis, on the other hand, have been forced out of these sectors of the economy and for this reason their traditional technical terms have not been replaced by modern technical terms. Instead, all of their technical terms for farming work are simply disappearing.

The table also gives us some idea about lexical variation in Jordanian society, showing that elderly Jordanians used MLIs at a low rate of in comparison to middle-aged Jordanians and that young Jordanians used MLIs at a low rate. While the low rate of the use of MLIs by the elderly comes as a result of their being familiar only with traditional farming methods and tools, whereas we think that the low rate of the use of modern terms by the young comes as a result of their abandonment of farming lifestyle. That is to say that the nature of lexical change is the same for both Jordanians and Tirawis: changes in the defining economic basis of these societies. However it should be noted that the causes of this change are different, the later is the example of a dialect change directly resulting from migration.

Table 4 The distribution of the variable (Q) by age and sex in Tirawi and Jordanian speakers

Sex	**JORDANIANS**			**Tirawis**		
Age	**[MLIs]%**	**[NN]%**	**N**	**[MLIs]%**	**[NN]%**	**N**
Young	20	80	188	1	99	167
Middle	55	45	140	2	98	155
Elderly	35	65	135	1	99	145

What the tables represent very clearly is the disappearance of lexical items related to a certain way of life and specific geography. The separation from land and related modes of existence ultimately led to the disappearance of a number of lexical items. Sea related words have disappeared from the speech of a once costal dwelling people, such as: /naw/ 'the state when the sea is not calm' and /ma kuur/ 'turbid' and /il-floka/ 'the boats'.[5] Though the speakers of Tirawi from the older generation still recall these words and may use them to describe their homeland there is no regular need for such terms, as a result of which the younger generations will hear them rarely if at all and never use them.

The camp included people from various regions of Palestine. Dialect contact became part of daily life in the camp both in and outside of the camp; outside of it the local Ibrid Jordanian dialect of their host was dominant. There would have been great pressure on the dialect to change. New lexical items would have started to be heard by Tirawis immediately following their arrival and they must have stopped using some of their own lexical items as a result of their new material circumstances. Those who were born in Al-Tira might never have needed to use certain lexical items in Irbid as they would have done on a daily basis in Al-Tira. For example, in the camp, there is no /Taabuun/ 'small, jar-shaped oven' used for baking bread' along with its /qunza a/ 'lid' and its /rodof/ 'the stones found inside the classical oven and on which the dough is put'. In other words, once the /Taabuun/ 'classical oven' stopped being part of their life, the detailed names for its parts would not have been used as frequently as they once were.[6] We see here that technical terms describing various parts of traditional tools are forgotten more quickly than the name of the tool itself. This is largely because only the

expert who uses that object would know the names of those technical parts but the name of the tool itself might keep being mentioned in stories and descriptions of a bygone time without the need to mention its constituent parts. Eventually the name of the tool itself would disappear as generations of speakers who are unfamiliar with the tool grow in proportion to those dialect speakers who once used the tool. It was noticed by the authors that lexical items related to the family sphere, particularly kinships terms are still preserved by both elderly and the younger generations. For example, /xayt-a/ 'my sister (xayt- 'sister' and –a my)', /xayy-a/ 'my brother' (/xay-/'brother', /-ya/ 'my') /siid-i/ 'grandfather', and /sit-ti/ 'grandmother'.[7]

Conclusion

This study indicates that the forced displacement of the Tiraawi from the environs of Tirat Haifa, necessitated the abandonment of that community's traditional agricultural practices, which in turn directly led to the disappearance of a great number of lexical items. Lexical items, unique to that dialect, dropped completely from use over the span of three generations. The elderly appear to preserve many of their native lexical items because: 1) they used them for a long period of time in their native land; and 2) they were not exposed to the local competing variants as they no longer practiced farming life as a means of existence in Irbid as they had did in their native land. Our study suggests that the young and the middle-aged Tirawi speakers abandoned the native lexical items because: 1) they did not live in Al-Tira where these lexical items were used daily and intensively; and 2) they were rarely exposed to these items as their parents ceased to practice a lifestyle where such lexical items are required. Furthermore this study shows that prestige has not operated as a crucial factor causing the abandonment of the native Tirawi lexical items related to agricultural discourse in favor of Ibrid dialect terms, Tirawi lexical items were not replaced by new ones.

The study also shows that the names of the parts of outdated tools fall into disuse more readily than the name of the tool itself. The elderly group as well as the middle-aged and young groups categorically knew the names of two major tools used in the past (/Taabuun/ 'classical oven', /miħra 'plough') while 80% of the old, and 10% of the middle aged group, and only 2% of the young remember the names of some parts associated with these tools such as /faħil/ '

The material context in which the Tirawi speakers found themselves necessitated that new discourses were appropriated. Where farming was once the mainstay of the community their dialect was rich in terms describing the land and tools and practices for working it. As farming knowledge and talk about farming suddenly became irrelevant to the lives of Tirawi speakers lexical items belonging to that discourse disappeared from use. These items were not replaced by local Ibrid dialect items related to farming. This contrasts strongly with studies on parallel phonological variation for the same dialect where the abandoned native variants have been readopted by middle-aged Tirawis group members at a rate that is closer to the one

used by the elderly speakers as shown in El Salman (2003).

Abrupt migration leads to lexical variation because the contexts where a lot of lexical items are required disappear. In other words, social factors are not the only factors that might lead to variation and eventual language change. As identities shift due to changes in the type of work of large sections of a community are involved in, whole discourses fade from use. As history is replete with examples of forced migration we must consider that the change in a community's identity is also likely to have repeatedly contributed to language change.

Notes

[1]In December a UNRWA report indicated that 42% of all registered Palestinian refugees (1698, 271) lived in Jordan and at that time 17% (296, 803) of those refugees in Jordan were living in one of ten official and three unofficial camps (University of Oxford Refugee Studies Centre, 2008).

[2]Exchanging information is an important performative communicative act in most Arabic societies.

[3]This problematic issue for research in the Arab world and has led some sociolinguists to exclude females from their studies, as was the case with Al-Jehani in his study on Makkan Arabic (Saudi Arabia) because of the cultural norms which restricting women's contact with men (Al Jehani, 1985). Other researchers have engaged a female research assistants to help in conducting their interviews with females speakers as in the case of Al Khatib (1988) in his study in Irbid (Jordan), and Daher (1998) in his study in Damascus.

[4]The term for rope which is made from goats' hair is called /roma/, discussed in section 2, is currently known only by 2% of the middle aged group and was recorded in this study as known by 0% of the younger generation.

[5]The most noteworthy symbols used in transcribing Arabic words are: / / glottal stop, /q/ voiceless uvular stop, /g/voiced velar stop, /ŧ/ emphatic voiceless alveolar (or denti-alveolar) stop, /đ/ emphatic voiced alveolar (or denti-alveolar) stop, /□ /voiceless interdental fricative, /ð/ voiced interdental fricative ,/ Ð/ emphatic voiced interdental fricative, / / emphatic voiceless alveolar fricative, / / voiceless alveolar fricative, / / voiced alveolar (or palato- alveolar) fricative, / / voiced alveolar (or palato alveolar) affricate, /ġ/ voiced velar fricative, / ħ / voiceless pharyngeal fricative, / / voiced pharyngeal fricative, /x/ voiceless velar fricative

[6]It is also worth noticing that as these tools were home-made ones, the names that are given to the different parts from which they are made are taken from nature itself. In other words, no new words are created to label these parts but rather the referential meanings of some already known words were extended to refer to these parts. The names taken from nature to label these parts are not arbitrarily chosen but rather it is noticed that these parts are similar to the objects that have already had these names. For example, the part of the wooden section of the plough which is joined to the iron part is called /fi lah/ 'radish' as it looks like 'radish' and the piece of wood

used to fix these two parts is called /zaġluul/ 'squeaker', as it looks like 'squeaker'.

[7]However, it should be noticed that in other Palestinian dialects 'xayya' is used to mean 'his brother'. Similar kinship terms in the local dialect, of Irbid, for example, /ox-ti/ 'my sister', /axuu-y/ 'my brother', / id-i/ 'grandfather' did not appear in the speech of Tirawis. Such kin-ship term conservatism is not unusual. Kinship-terms along with body parts often exhibit greatest resistance to change: *brother* English; *bruder* german, b*rat* Hindi, *frat* French.

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Role of Collective Community Efforts (*Ashar*) in Minimizing Pesticides Use in Agriculture, Lower Swat, Pakistan

Mohammad Nafees
&
Hizbullah Khan
Lecturer, Department of Environmental Sciences
University of Peshawar

Declaration

I herein confirm that the article is not published in any national or international journal, neither presented in any conference. It is also not published on internet. All published materials are herein acknowledged in the form of references.

Abstract

Collective local community work (ashar) is one of the social code of conduct usually practiced in Pukhtoon Culture. In the past farmer community practiced ashar during crop harvest and threshing season with the idea to reduce cost of work and save time. In this study an attempt has been made to investigate the applicability of ashar in agriculture extension program for Control pest attack by applying minimum pesticide doses and reduce spray frequencies. This will lead to reduction of cost on one hand and save environment on the other. To know about ashar and its present state, detail interviews were conducted in seven villages by interviewing 134 farmers. Similarly, to minimize pesticides use, two experiments of different nature were also conducted with different group members (8, 6 and 4) to identify manageable group size. Out of the total respondents, 30% strongly encouraged the practice of Ashar and were of the view that it reduces the cost, save time, promote social harmony and reduces the misuse of pesticides in agriculture. Only 10% of the respondent preferred individual agricultural activities without utilizing Ashar due to mainly to their reservation that planning an Ashar is time consuming. In a subsequent survey, farmers were asked to arrange pesticides spray within seven days, while in the other farmers were asked to collect money for the estimated amount of pesticides according to their share based on size of their field. They were asked to complete the spray on the same day. In both cases four members group proved to be the best to plan and facilitate ashar and minimize the pesticides usage by ~ 25 and ~35% respectively. It is therefore, concluded that the concept of ashar could be extended to make it part of the integrated pest management to minimize pesticide usage and safe guard the local environment.

Introduction

Labor in Swat Valley can be divided into two groups: daily wager, and annual salaried labor. In addition to these two kinds, landowners also have other kind of labors whom the landowners hire or keep on different conditions. The most common labor is *Brakha-khor* (Shareholder in the yield), who takes care of fields and in return receives

one-fourth or one-third of the yield. *Brakha-khor* is responsible for all sort of activities related to agriculture (Inam-ur-Rahim & Alain 2002). Another type of labor is *faqir or fakir* who lives in a house owned by landowner but does not pay any rent. In return he is bound to do *beggar* (unpaid work) for the landowner (Lindholm 1979). There is yet another category called *Dehqan* who is paid in kind at the time of harvesting. *Dehqan* (Agriculture labor) was responsible for keeping *Qulba* (a pair of bulls) and plough (Inam-ur-Rahim and Alain 2002) to till the land for the owner. The big landowners usually have all these different kind of labors available to them. Whenever they require extra physical labor, the landowners arrange for *ashar*, which is a communal effort to undertake a physical work that can be done easily if there are many labors doing it; for example cutting grass, reaping a crop or picking apples etc.

In return for the work that labors/people do in *ashar* the landowner arranges for sumptuous food and good music; there are no wages paid to the workers. In addition to agricultural activities, *Ashar* is also done in activities like washing woolen rugs (Weavers group); making quilts; constructing a house, mosque, or hujra; bringing in wooden logs from forest etc.

The history of *ashar* is as old as the history of *Pukhtoon* society in the Swat Valley (Sultan-i-room 2002). With the arrival of mechanized agriculture methods, the institution of *ashar* is on the decline. It is now limited to activities such as weeding and hoeing, harvesting, canal-cleaning etc. However, *ashar*, a wonderful social institution, is on the decline even in these spheres due to use of pesticides in today's agriculture.

Environmental protection is an inter-disciplinary subject, and without the involvement of social institution, environmental protection related activities might appear ineffective (Young, 2001). *Aashar* is one of the social activities of Malakand district, which can be utilized for environmental protection and resource conservation (Parthasarathy and Chopde. 2000). This is one of the characteristics of upper Malakand and Swat Valley, to help each other in heavy difficult tasks in the form of *ashar, (*Sultan-i-room, 2007*)* especially, in agriculture such as during harvesting, threshing, dredging of irrigation canals, and weeding of crops etc. *Ashar* was famous for finishing a particular job quickly and easily (Inam-ur-Rahim and Alain 2002); however, the provision of such help set an obligations for reciprocal assistance at some later stage (Bonfiglioli, 1995). With the advent of labor saving and displacing technologies like tractors and threshers into the traditional farming systems the practice of *ashar* gradually reduced (Inam-ur-Rahim and Alain 2002) and is still toward decline (Fig. 3). On the other side, the people of the area are facing various environmental problems like the hazard of pesticides use in farming is one of them. The use of pesticides has been increased 10 times over the last decade (Khwaja and Rasul 2006), which is contaminating soil, water and even food cycle (Rasul et at 2003 and Young, 2001). To solve a problem the role of community is always important (Walls et al 1999). Control strategies used in IPM, which is defined as the use of a combination of pest control

strategies in an environmentally, ecologically, and economically sound manner to maintain pest populations below a designated level (threshold). These include physical, mechanical, and cultural techniques" or "an adaptable range of pest control methods which is cost effective whilst being environmentally acceptable and sustainable (Perrin, 1997). IPM evolved between 1960-70 (Kogan, 1998, Van Emden, 2000 and Elher, 2006) is asking about collective efforts at community level (Cumming and Spiesman, 2006) like *ashar*. Looking into timeline, this code of conduct is required to be re-mobilized. In the study area an attempt has been made to study various aspects and importance of *ashar* in minimizing the use of pesticides in agricultural practices and to know about the trend in pesticides uses, misuses and importance of *ashar*.

Methodology

Detail interviews were conducted. In total 134 respondents belonging to seven different villages were interviewed (Fig. 1). For interview farmers were visited while they were in their field. The interview was supplemented by Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques. Five groups were selected from five different villages; consisting of 6 to 10 farmers. To develop time line various other PRA techniques were used like social mapping, problem ranking and seasonal calendar (Townsle, 1996)

To decrease the use of insecticides two experiments of different nature were conducted in the area. In one experiment an attempt was made to change the mode of *ashar* i.e. to identify user groups (Meinzen-Dick et al, 2006) and arrange spray within a week time. This was practiced on 5-hectare area where there were 21 farmers. By asking agriculture expert Cypermethrin (pesticide) was advised for the area.

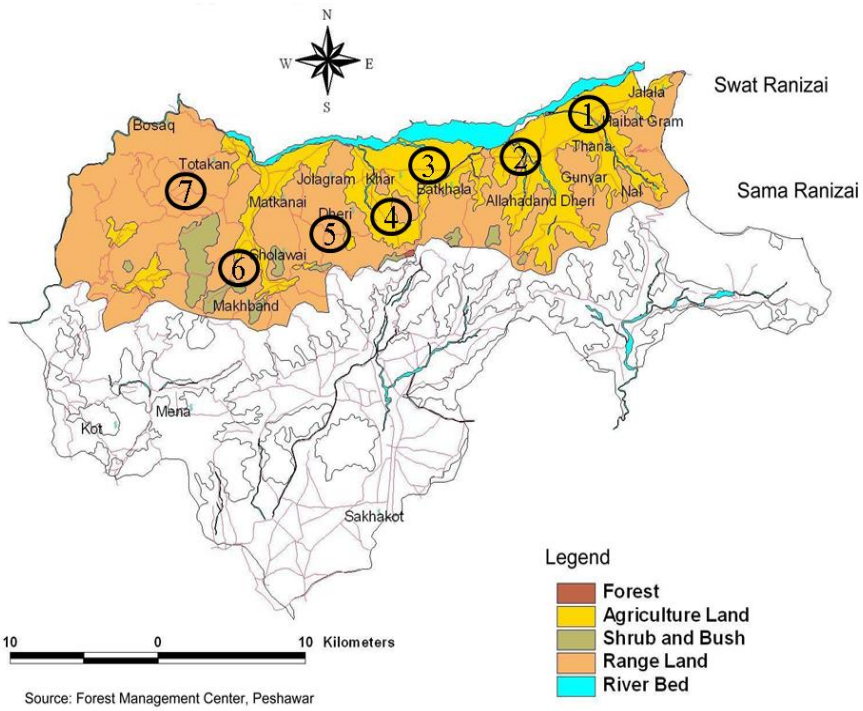
In the second experiment another plan was practiced. The farmers were asked to contribute money in proportion to the size of their land (Jeen-Marie and Jean-Philippe 2002). A uniform concentration was sprayed on the same day. For this all farmers were invited on the same day to get their pesticide share and spray it on their field.

Study Area

Malakand district is situated in the north of Pakistan. It is part of Swat Valley and has historical importance because of having routs toward the Northern Areas. Total area of Malakand District is 952 Km^2 with a population density of 596 peoples per $Km^{2.}$ Estimated population for year 2004-05 is 567 thousands (District Census Report, 2006). Agriculture is the major source of income. In 1999-2000 agriculture department surveyed a total of 52134-hector land (54.78% of the total area). Total cultivable land is 45681 hectare which is 47.98% of the total (Department of Agriculture. 2002). District Malakand is divided into to two sub-divisions, Sama Ranizai and Swat Ranizai. Swat Ranizai (also called upper Malakand or Lower Swat) is contributing to River Swat watershed (Fig.1). The Sama Ranizai is plain area, while the Swat Ranizai is mountainous. According to our estimate about 30% of the Swat Ranizai is cultivable. The agriculture land is divided into three major classes, rain-fed, irrigated

and semi-irrigated. Rainfall mostly occurs in December to March, which is why wheat crop is visible on most of the rain-fed area. While irrigated and semi-irrigated, which is almost 52% of the total agriculture land is used for three crops. Major crops include maize, rice and vegetable. To maximize production heavy use of pesticides was observed. *Ashar* was practiced in the study area and was studied to bring it under Integrated Pest Management (IPM) and decrease the use of pesticides with the aim to save money and environment.

Figure: 1 Map of District Malakand



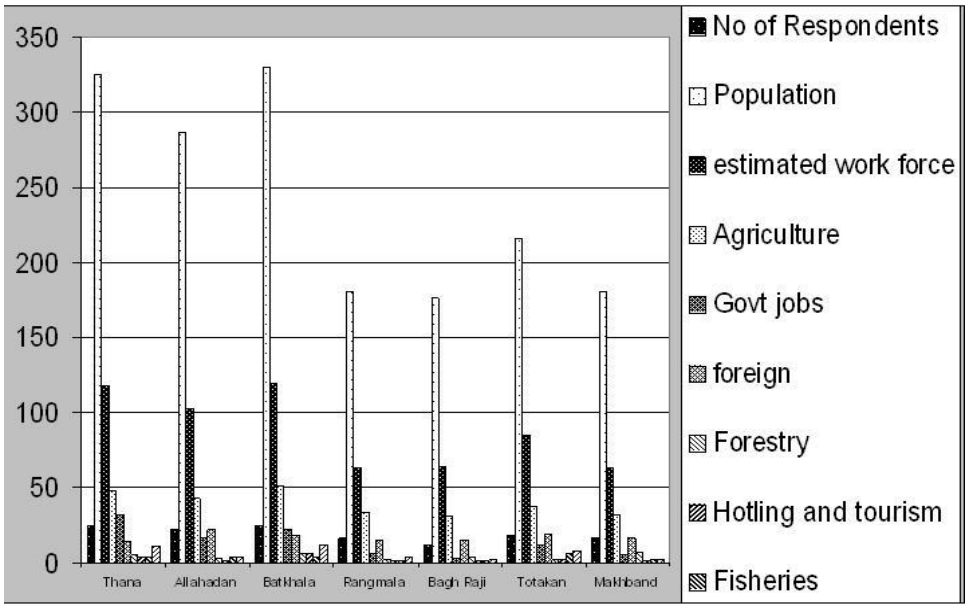
Results

Occupational profile

Agriculture is one of the dominant activities of the study area, where collective efforts are of great importance. For its applicability it was important to identify focus groups and have occupational profile (Fig 2). According to our questionnaire survey, population of total respondents (134) was 1693 with a total work force of 615 (36.32%). High percentage (47.32%) of the work force was attached with agriculture and 34.15% (government employees or attached with occupation like fisheries and forestry) are indirectly attached with agricultural activities. Among these the government employees (16.26%), hoteling and tourism (2.60%), Shop keeping

(6.99%) was not attached with *ashar* as they rarely participate in such activities. It was observed that this trend of *ashar* is toward declined. The indirectly attached groups some time refuse or un-willingly participate, creating problem in future arrangement of *ashar* as majority of the people (47.32%) are attached with agriculture directly and there is possibilities to re-activate this concept of *ashar* and to make it part of integrated pest management.

Figure 2 Accupational Profile of the study area



Observation

In the first experiment farmers were asked to manage the spray within one-week time. This arrangement took 6 days for consultation. 8 farmers managed spray on the first day. 11 farmers managed in next three days with a group of 5, 3 and 3 farmers. Remaining 2 farmers, after motivation, managed spray in the 5th day. The pesticide solution strength was kept as 1%. Previously the farmers of the area used to give four sprays within three months time, but this collective method has brought it down to three sprays. In this way 25% decrease was observed in pesticides use.

In comparison the second experiment, in which the spray was arranged as one event has reduced the consumption of pesticides less by 10% In this experiment solution strength of pesticide was kept as 0.7%. For this arrangement the consultation time was 8 days and 14 farmers paid their contribution with one-month delay. The total pesticides usage was decreased by 35% in terms of one spray plus dilution factor. Four different plots were selected for these experiments ranging form 2-5 hectares. Four

groups with group members of 8, 6, 4 and 3 were arranged among the farmers with adjacent fields with plot size of 5, 4, 3, and 2 hectares respectively. Among these, a group of four members was identified the best in terms of consultation time, collection of their respective contributions, and simultaneous arrangement of spray.

People's attitude towards *Ashar*

For further investigation a total of 134 people were interviewed belonging to 7 villages. 47.32% were directly attached with agriculture (**Fig-2**) out of which 12.03% were still practicing *ashar* on regular basis, 30.24% were practicing on occasional basis, while remaining 57.73% were using paid labors. Before the arrival of herbicides farmers were using *ashar* for eradication of weeds. 52% of the respondents were of the view that pesticides are a threat to *ashar*.

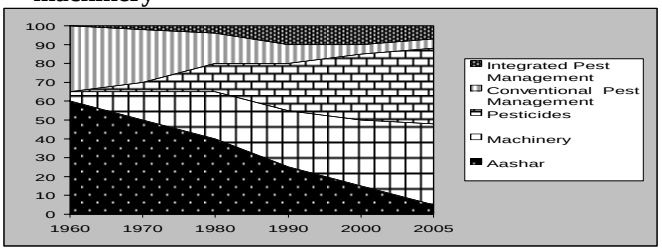
Out of the total 134 respondents, 30% people emphasized importance and re-activation of *ashar*, 30% called it important but a difficult task to arrange, 30% people had no comments and 10% preferred to work individually.

Ashar has two broad categories. One is that when a host request neighboring farmers, relatives and/or friends for help in a particular activity that may be too heavy for him. The 2nd is that when there is a facility jointly used by the farmers, such as canal cleaning etc. This form of *ashar* still exists and is in practice while the other was found to be on decline (Fig. 3). Pesticides use fall in the former category still 64.93% of the respondents preferred *ashar*, 20.15% shows no response in this regards and only 14.92% showed interest to keep it individual.

How to encourage *Ashar*

As mentioned the principal of *ashar* is "to help and to get help". Looking into the cost benefit analysis it is difficult to use it for control of herbicide, but it can be used to minimize the use of insecticide, however if the neighboring farmers arrange spray on the same day, it will be more effective than individual spray in different times. Or if the neighboring farmers in group form, collect money on reciprocal basis, identify proper pesticide with the help of agriculture department extension agent and spray it according to prescribed schedule, the benefit would be great in minimizing the use of pesticides.

Figure 3 **PRA Timeline for *Ashar* in Comparison with Pesticides and machinery**



Conclusion

Ashar is on the decline in agriculture activities even though 30% of the studied population stressed the use of this practice to achieve multiple goals of reducing cost of agricultural activities and avoid misuse of pesticides application. For effective integrated pest management it is important to involve community and ensure their participation for which the agriculture department should play its role. A four-member group was identified as the best working group in planning and executing pesticides application Ashar. As in the study area the concept of *ashar* already exists, using it or its variant in the form of identifying small groups can help minimize the use of pesticide and thus save money and environment.

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Interpersonal Conflict with Colleagues and Superiors and Its Differential Impact on Job-Related Outcomes

Muhammad Azizullah Khan
Institute of Management and Computer Sciences
Foundation University, Islamabad
&
M. Anis-ul-Haque
National Institute of Psychology
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to extend previous research that interpersonal conflict with superiors and interpersonal conflict with colleagues among adult managers is differentially related to organizational and personal outcomes. The study included 229 business managers in national corporations from Rawalpindi and Islamabad and revealed that the interpersonal conflict with colleagues (horizontal conflict) is significantly related to personal outcomes i.e. negatively related to self esteem and general well-being, and positively related to emotional exhaustions; whereas, the interpersonal conflict with superiors (vertical conflict) is significantly related to organizational outcomes i.e. negatively related to job satisfaction and organizational commitment and positively related to turnover intentions. The vertical conflict was also found to be significantly related to personal outcomes.

Conflict is a pervasive phenomenon that permeates a multitude of organizational processes and outcomes (Barki & Hartwick, 2001). Conflict is the process in which an individual or group perceives that their interests, values, beliefs that matter to them are being opposed or negatively affected by another individual or group (De Dreu, Harinck, & Van Vianen, 1999; Wall & Callister, 1995); conflict is an interactive process manifested in incompatibility, disagreement, or dissonance within or between social entities i.e., individual, group, organization, etc. (Rahim, 2002).

Research tends to focus on two types of conflict based on either task or affect. However, organizational conflict involves interpersonal conflicts with colleagues or supervisors, or intergroup conflicts within different sections of an organization (Imazai & Ohbuchi, 2002). In this paper, we consider two dimensions, or types of conflict: vertical conflict and horizontal conflict. Vertical conflict occurs in groups of different hierarchical levels, such as supervisors and subordinates, whereas horizontal conflict occurs between individuals of the same level, such as managers within the same organization.

Research Question

There is an extensive literature on the nature and effects of conflicts in work groups

(e.g., De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; Jen & Mannix, 2001) and that interpersonal conflict is indeed an important job stressor related to deleterious outcomes for both employees and employers (Spector & Jex, 1998). However, past literature is limited to explain variance in the outcomes of interpersonal conflict with superiors and colleagues at work place.

Frone (2000) suggests that the qualitative nature of relationship between people involved in conflict is important to consider. Based on the Kasl (1998) explicit distinction between interpersonal relationships, he suggests that the interpersonal conflict with supervisors and coworkers may be differentially related to organizational and personal outcomes. On the basis of Fiske's (1992) general theory of social relations, he develops a model of interpersonal conflict at work postulating that conflict with supervisors is predictive of organizationally relevant outcomes (job satisfaction, organizational commitment and turnover intentions), whereas conflict with coworkers is predictive of personally relevant outcomes (depression, self-esteem and somatic symptoms). He provides empirical evidence for these hypothesized relationships among a sample of part time young workers. This relationship is later supported to the extent of organizational commitment by Janssen (2004) that conflict with supervisor is negatively related to empowered employee's organizational commitment.

To date, to the researchers' knowledge, no empirical research in conflict literature has been explicitly conducted to confirm these findings across sample in the United States and other countries. A question of concern to the researchers' is whether such results hold in countries that are very different culturally. The present study is an attempt to test this model in a non-western context of a collectivist Southwest Asian country of Pakistan. Therefore, the research objective of this study is to examine the difference in organizational and personal outcomes of vertical and horizontal conflicts at work place among adult managers. As such, the research question is: How is the manager's interpersonal conflict with superiors and colleagues at work place differentially related to the organizational and personal outcomes?

Interpersonal Conflict and its Outcomes

The range of workplace variables in which conflicts have been examined is quite broad but in the present study the personally relevant outcomes selected are self-esteem, general well-being and emotional exhaustion; while the organizationally relevant outcomes are job satisfaction, organizational commitment and turnover intention; and all these six dependant variables are discussed below.

Self-esteem is the general feelings of worth and competence associated with one's own self, which affects the responses and shapes one's behavior towards different aspects of life and it is considered a single most significant key factor in understanding human behavior and is the most important aspect of individual's overall psychological functioning that affects his attitude towards others and life (Branden 1987). According

to Coopersmith (1967) self-esteem could be defined as the evaluation a person makes of herself or himself.

Conflict threatens one's self esteem and impacts negatively all the physiological system in ways like accelerated heart beat and increased muscle tension (McEwen, 1998); enduring conflict results in reduced physical and psychic functions producing burnout effects (De Dreu, Dierendonck, & Dijkstra, 2004); and that conflict with colleagues undermines individual's self-evaluation, self and similarity with others (Fiske, 1992). Frone (2000) also found a negative relationship between interpersonal conflict with colleagues and self-esteem.

General well-being has been defined by Schlosser (1990) as an appraisal of the status of one's functioning and outcome along several distinct but interrelated dimensions including global, mental and physical healthfulness. He further elaborates his point of view by saying that operationally well-being means to reside strictly in a positive domain of health indicator.

Well-being is a multi-faceted and value-laden concept and is viewed as comprising the various life/non-work satisfactions enjoyed by individuals i.e., satisfaction or dissatisfaction with social life, family life, recreation, spirituality, and so forth which includes work/job related satisfactions i.e., satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction with pay, promotion opportunities, the job itself, and co-workers (Cooper & Marshall, 1978).

The conflict theory and research remains virtually silent about the potential effects of conflict on affect-related variables such as well-being (De Dreu, Dierendonck, & Dijkstra, 2004). However, interpersonal conflict with colleagues at work place is a well-known job stressor (Frone, 2000); and undesirable behavior with colleagues at work place creates deleterious consequences, causing stress (De Dreu, Dierendonck, & Dijkstra, 2004); and that such stress affects adversely employee's well being (Frone, 2000; Steve & Jeffrey, 2003). According to De Dreu, Dierendonck, and Dijkstra (2004), stress at work is seen as an antecedent to interpersonal conflict, affecting well-being negatively and that employees with low well-being may trigger conflict with colleagues who are more prone for such conflict due to poor performance. According to Zapf, Dormann, and Frese (1996) interpersonal conflict at work is negatively related to employee's well-being.

Emotional exhaustion is a chronic state of being emotionally and physically depleted and an experience of feeling drained of all energy or all used up, and that when people begin to experience emotional exhaustion, they may try to reduce the emotional stress of working with other people by detaching from others (Maslach, 1982).

Conceptually, emotional exhaustion best captures the "core meaning" of burnout (Shirom, 1989); while, all the three variables of burnout are of considerable importance, but the emotional exhaustion has emerged as a central variable for

understanding the burnout process (Baba, Jamal, & Tourigny, 1998; Cordes & Dougherty, 1993; Gaines & Jermier, 1983; Zohar, 1997). Emotional exhaustion is playing an important role in mediating the effects of other burnout components (Lee & Ashforth, 1993), and has empirically shown stronger relationships to important outcome variables (Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Wright & Bonett, 1997).

Interpersonal conflict indicates the amount of negatively charged social interactions with her/his colleagues (Spector, 1987), which evokes negative emotional state that subsequently leads to emotional exhaustion (Organ and Ryan, 1995).

Job satisfaction has been defined by Smith, Kendall and Hulin (1969) as a general attitude formed on account of specific job factors, individual characteristic, and relationships outside the job and that it is an employee's judgment of how well his job has satisfied his various needs. Job satisfaction is typically defined as an employee's level of positive affect toward her/his job or job situation (Locke, 1976; Spector, 1997). Job satisfaction after all really is an employee's attitude towards her/his job (Jex, 2002, p. 116).

In organizations managers control their subordinates and make decisions, conveyed down through the chain of command to motivate people (Fiske, 1992; Frone, 2000). Therefore the job concerns such as making it interesting, be varied in nature, is mentally challenging and taking care for job security, recognition, fringe benefits, rewards and promotions etc. are completely controlled by the superiors. In the same way it is the job of superiors to process social information effectively making new entrants safe from negative feelings and, on the other hand, may handle subordinates so effectively that their internal dispositional tendencies do not affect organizational environments negatively. Thus all aspects of job satisfaction depends on the relationships with superiors and in case of interpersonal conflict with the superiors such relationships are affected negatively having impact on individual feelings and cognitions towards job, producing dysfunctional outcomes.

Such relationship of conflict with superiors affecting job satisfaction negatively was empirically provided by Frone (2000) and that less supportive work place environments lower job satisfaction (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Conflict at work negatively affects job satisfaction (De Dreu, Dierendonck, & Dijkstra, 2004; Steve & Jeffrey, 2003). In the same way while summarizing past research Spector and Jex (1998) reported that interpersonal conflict at work is negatively related to job satisfaction. The conflict theory and research remains virtually silent about the potential effects of conflict on affect-related variables such as job satisfaction (De Dreu, Dierendonck, & Dijkstra, 2004).

Organizational commitment is the "strength of an individual's identification with and involvement in a particular organization" characterized by a strong belief in acceptance of organizational goals and beliefs and willingness to exert efforts on behalf of the

organization (Porter, Steers, Mowday, & Boulian, 1974).

Organizational commitment is contingent upon workplace experiences. The interpersonal conflict with supervisor is one of such an experiences having deleterious effect on an employee's attitude towards organization (Frone, 2000). The manager in organizations legitimately drive the subordinates to achieve organizational goals (Fiske, 1992; Frone, 2000; Reichers 1986) and in case of interpersonal conflict with superiors, the achievement of such goals and values through employees are affected negatively since the latter feel obstructed (Rahim, 1992; Van de Vliert, 1997). Therefore conflicts with superiors have negative effects on employee's commitment to the organization and that such relationship of organizational commitment and conflict with superiors was empirically provided by Frone (2000) and Janssen (2004) that interpersonal conflict with superiors is negatively related to organizational commitment. Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002) found that less supportive work place environments lowers organizational commitment. Conflict at work negatively affects organizational commitment (De Dreu, Dierendonck, & Dijkstra, 2004).

Turnover intentions refer to an individual's estimated probability that he will leave an organization at some point in the near future (Brough & Rachael, 2004). Turnover intentions are identified as the immediate precursor to turnover behavior (Mobley, Horner, & Holligsworth, 1978; Tett & Meyer, 1993). Although some organizational turnover is unavoidable and may even be desirable yet voluntary turnover is difficult to predict and can reduce the overall effectiveness of an organization (Smith & Brough, 2003).

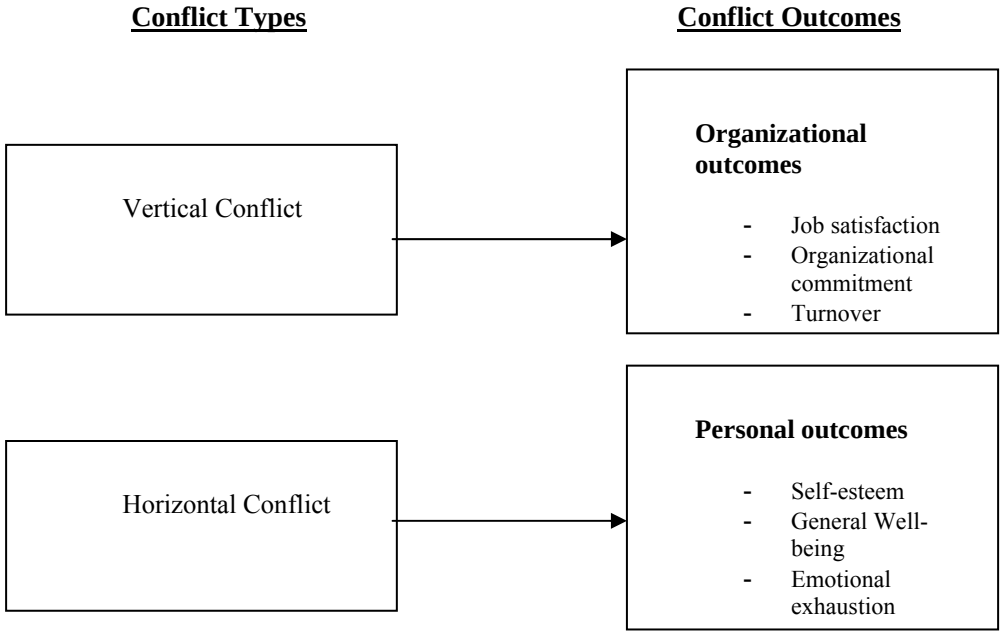
The conflict theory and research remains virtually silent about the potential effects of conflict on affect-related variables such as turnover intentions (De Dreu, Dierendonck, & Dijkstra, 2004). However, the empirical findings that conflict with supervisors is positively related to turnover intentions, was given by Frone (2000). Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002) found that less supportive work place environments increases turnover intentions. While summarizing past research Spector and Jex (1998) reported that interpersonal conflict at work is positively related to turnover intentions.

Conceptual Framework and Hypotheses Formulation

On the basis of the past findings and Fiske's (1992), general theory of social relations a conceptual frame work has been developed, which proposes that the individual's conflict with superiors will adopt authority ranking relation mode and will be related to poor organizationally relevant outcomes, whereas the individual's conflict with colleagues will adopt community sharing relation mode and will be related to poor personally relevant outcomes.

The overall conceptual framework of the study, presented in figure-1, essentially indicates that conflict at horizontal and vertical level will affect employees reported outcomes.

Figure 1 **Conceptual framework representing the conflict types and conflict outcomes relationship.**



Accordingly, on the basis of the literature review and aforesaid conceptual framework, the following hypotheses have been formulated:

H1: Interpersonal conflict with colleagues (horizontal conflict) at work is negatively related to self-esteem and general well-being and positively related to emotional exhaustion.

H2: Interpersonal conflict with superiors (vertical conflict) at work is negatively related to job satisfaction and organizational commitment and positively related to turnover intentions.

METHOD

Sample and Procedure

The sample of the study comprised of 229 (198 males and 29 females) managers working in lower to middle level management in different public sector corporate organizations i.e. Pakistan Post Office, Pakistan Railways, Pakistan International Air Lines, and Pakistan Telecommunication Company Ltd. Their age ranged from 21 to 59 years, with a mean of 40.60 (SD =10.37). 28% of all the respondents were

graduates while, the rest were postgraduates. 88% of the sample belonged to lower level of management while the remaining 12% were from middle level. As for the functional area, 13% were from Accounts/Finance, 14% from sales/marketing, 38% from general administration and 31% from engineering/IT.

The participants of the study were approached through the managers' human resource departments of the different organizations by presenting them a permission letter, explaining the objective and purpose of the study. Other details about the study and instructions to fill the questionnaires as well as confidentiality of the reporting were given on the first page of questionnaire. No time limit was imposed. Overall 400 questionnaires were distributed, wherefrom 230 responses were received with 229 valid cases, making survey response rates of 58%.

Instruments

The instruments used to tap the measures of all the variables of interest in the study were first adapted and validated in a pilot study involving a sample of 100 managers. The items from all the measures were translated into Urdu, using the technique of back translation. The items' analysis was conducted by using the techniques of item-total correlation. Scale wise items-total correlation was carried out. The results of the item-analysis revealed that almost all the statements had significantly high correlations with their total scale scores and hence, the scales have significant content and construct validity. Coefficient alpha was computed to determine the internal consistency reliability of the scales (Cronbach, 1984) and the obtained values ranged from .70 to .90 indicating the scales as reliable and internally consistent measures for the said constructs.

The eight instruments so adapted and validated on pilot basis and used in the study were Interpersonal conflict at work scales, Job satisfaction, Turnover intention, General well-being, Self esteem and Emotional exhaustion scale, discussed as follow:

Horizontal and Vertical Conflict

Interpersonal conflict at work scale (ICAWS) was developed by Spector (1987). The Urdu version of ICAWS for both superiors and colleagues, are 7-items measures rated on 5- point Likert scale ranging from almost false (1) to almost true (5). The items ask about how well the respondent gets along with others at work, specifically getting into arguments with other and how often others act nasty to the respondent. High scores represent frequent conflict with others, with a possible range from 7 to 35. Internal consistency reliability for the present sample is .79 for conflict with colleagues and .87 for conflict with superiors.

Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction scale was developed by Hackman and Oldham (1975). They described job satisfaction as "an over all measure of the degree to which the employee is satisfied and happy with the job". The Urdu version measure comprises five item rated on 5-

point rating scale. The responses range from almost false (1) to almost true (5). Two items are reverse scored. The alpha reliability coefficient for the present sample is .76.

Organizational Commitment

Organizational commitment was assessed with Urdu version of organizational commitment Questionnaire developed by Mowday, Steers & Porter (1979) and adapted and validated in Urdu by Anis-ul-Haque (1995). The Urdu version consisted of 14 items. Each item used a 5 –point response scales that ranged from almost false (1) to almost true (5). Five items are negatively phrased and reverse scored. This Urdu version has already been used in various studies in our organizational context providing good evidence of reliability and construct validity (e.g. Anis-ul-Haque, 1995). The alpha reliability coefficient for the present sample is .88.

Turnover Intentions

Adapted in the pilot study, the turnover Intentions was assessed by 3-item index of employees' intention to leave their job (Cammann, Fichman, Jenkines and Klesh, 1979). Each item used a 5-point response scale that ranged from almost false (1) to almost true (5). The alpha reliability coefficient for the present sample is .87.

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem was measured using Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scales (Rosenberg, 1965) adapted in the pilot study. The Urdu version is a self-administered 9-items scale designed as a unidimensional global self-esteem measure (Rosenberg, 1979). Respondents indicated how often they felt the way described in each statement on a five point Likert scale ranging from always (5) to never (1). The internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's alpha) for the present sample is .78.

General Well-being

Well-being was measured by two subscales of Anxiety Stress Questionnaire (House & Rizzo, 1972). The two subscales of Somatic Tension (5 items) and General Fatigue and Uneasiness (5 items) were used to measure the possible outcomes in terms of feeling or physical symptom growing out of stress at the work. The Urdu version, adapted in the pilot study consisted of 10-items ranging from never (1) to always (5). Eight items are reverse scored. The alpha reliability coefficient for the present sample is .87.

Emotional Exhaustion

Emotional exhaustion was assessed by the adapted Urdu version of 8-items sub- scale of Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach & Jackson, 1986). Emotional exhaustion is characterized by a "loss of feeling and concern, loss of trust, interest and spirit". Scores on the emotional exhaustion scale range from never (1) to always (5). The alpha reliability coefficient for the present sample is .85.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics and alpha coefficient reliabilities of all the variables are reported

in Table 1 below.

Table 1 Means, Standard Deviations, Skewness and coefficients Alpha of all variables (N= 229)

Variables	Items	Range	*M*	*SD*	Skewness	C. Alpha
Conflict with Colleagues	7	7 to 35	12.70	5.16	1.46	.79
Conflict with Superiors	7	7 to 35	11.29	5.27	1.52	.87
Personal Outcomes						
Self Esteem	9	18 to 45	34.77	5.87	-.42	.78
General Well-being	10	19 to 50	38.70	7.05	-.63	.87
Emotional Exhaustion	8	8 to 31	14.99	5.09	1.13	.85
Organizational Outcomes						
Job Satisfaction	5	7 to 25	18.18	4.19	-.24	.76
Organizational						
Commitment	14	19 to 70	50.91	10.96	-.34	.88
Turnover Intentions	3	3 to 15	6.12	3.49	.80	.87

The table 1 above shows that all scales reliabilities exceeded the .70 value recommended by Nunnally (1978). Cronbachs alpha of .70 and above was significantly high for research use.

Table 2 Zero-order Correlations between all study variables (N= 229)

S.No.	Variables	1	11	111	1V	V	V1	V11	VIII
I.	Conflict with Colleagues	1.00							
II.	Conflict with Superiors	.57**	1.00						
III.	Self Esteem	-.35**	-.45**	1.00					
IV.	General Well-being	-.30**	-.31**	.55**	1.00				
V.	Emotional Exhaustion	.27**	.31**	-.43**	-.78**	1.00			
VI.	Job Satisfaction	-.12	-.28**	.34**	.34**	-.31**	1.00		
VII.	Organizational Commitment	-.12	-.21**	.37**	.43**	-.45**	.75**	1.00	
VIII.	Turnover Intentions	.27	.41**	-.33	-.17**	.11	-.60**	-.44**	1.00

*$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$

Table 2 shows the zero-order correlation among all the study variables. The results indicate that conflict with colleagues is significantly related to personal outcomes i.e.

significantly negatively related to self-esteem and general well-being and significantly positively related to emotional exhaustion. Conflict with colleague (Horizontal conflict) is not significantly related to organizational outcomes i.e. job satisfaction, organizational commitment and turnover intentions**.** While, the conflict with superiors is, significantly, positively related to turnover intentions, emotional exhaustion; and significantly negatively related to job satisfaction, organizational commitment, self esteem, and general well-being.

Table 3 Partial correlation coefficients of Interpersonal conflict with colleagues and outcome variables (N= 229)

S.No	Variables	1	11	111	1V	V	V1	V11
I.	Conflict with Colleagues	1.00						
II.	Self Esteem	-.12*	1.00					
III.	General Well-being	-.15**	.48***	1.00				
IV.	Emotional Exhaustion	.12*	- .35***	-.75***	1.00			
V.	Job Satisfaction	.06	-.24***	.28***	-.24***	1.00		
VI.	Organizational Commitment	.01	.31***	.39***	-.41***	.74***	1.00	
VII.	Turnover Intentions	.04	-.18**	-.05	-.02	-.56***	-.40***	1.00

*$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, **$p < 0.001$

Table 3 shows the Partial correlation matrix obtained for the seven interval-scaled variables i.e. conflict with colleagues, organizational outcomes and personal outcomes while controlling for vertical conflict (Conflict with Superiors). From the results we can observe that conflict with colleagues is significantly related to personal outcomes i.e. significantly negatively related to self-esteem (r = -.12, $p < 0.05$) and general well-being (r = -.15, $p < 0.01$) and significantly positively related to emotional exhaustion (r = .12, $p < 0.05$). Conflict with colleague (Horizontal Conflict) is not significantly related to organizational outcomes i.e. job satisfaction, organizational commitment and turnover intentions**.**

Table 4 Partial correlation coefficients of Interpersonal conflict with superiors and outcome variables (N= 229)

S.No	Variables	1	11	111	1V	V	V1	V11
I.	Conflict with Superiors	1.00						
II.	Self Esteem	-.33***	1.00					
III.	General Well-being	-.18**	.49***	1.00				
IV.	Emotional Exhaustion	.19**	-.50***	-.76***	1.00			
V.	Job Satisfaction	-.26***	.32***	.32***	-.29***	1.00		
VI.	Organizational	-.18**	.35***	.41***	-.44***	.75***	1.00	

	Commitment							
VII.	Turnover Intentions	.33***	-.27***	-.10	.04	-.60***	-.43***	1.00

*$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$

Table 4 shows the Partial correlation matrix obtained for the conflict with superiors, organizational outcomes and personal outcomes while controlling for horizontal conflict. From the results we can observe that conflict with superiors is, significantly, positively related to turnover intentions ($r = .33$, $p < 0.001$), emotional exhaustion ($r = .19$, $p < 0.01$); and significantly negatively related to job satisfaction ($r = -.26$, $p < 0.001$), organizational commitment ($r = -.18$, $p < 0.01$), self esteem ($r = -.33$, $p < 0.001$), and general well-being ($r = -.18$, $p < 0.01$). The results indicate that vertical conflict is significantly related to organizational outcomes as well as personal outcomes.

Discussion

The empirical portion of this research provides support for hypotheses and the data do support the following two important premises of the conceptual framework:

1. Interpersonal conflict with ones colleague is significantly related to personal outcomes.
2. Interpersonal conflict with ones superior is significantly related to organizational outcomes.

The first hypothesis anticipated that conflict with colleagues is negatively related to self esteem and general well-being and positively related to emotional exhaustion. The analysis revealed that conflict with colleagues is significantly negatively related to self esteem and general well-being and positively related to emotional exhaustion. Thus the hypothesis is supported by the data.

Similar findings were made by Frone (2000) that horizontal conflict is negatively related to self esteem and positively related to depression and somatic symptoms. Conflict threatens one's self esteem, which influences negatively all the physiological system in ways like accelerated heart beat and increased muscles tension (McEwen, 1998). High level of interpersonal conflict evokes negative emotional state affecting altruistic behavior (Organ & Ryan, 1995); and conflict with colleagues undermines individual's self-evaluation, self and similarity with others (Fiske, 1992). Enduring conflict results in reduced physical and psychic functions producing burnout effects (De Dreu, Dierendonck, & Dijkstra, 2004). The stress is negatively related to turn over, low morale and interpersonal problems (Jackson & Maslach, 1982; Muchinsky, 1987; Turnipseed, 1988); and that emotional exhaustion has emerged as a central variable for understanding the burnout process (Baba, Jamal, & Tourigny, 1998; Cordes & Dougherty, 1993; Gaines & Jermier, 1983; Zohar, 1997). Support from colleagues has been found related to burnout (Ross & Ross, 1989). Unethical behavior

with colleagues at work place creates deleterious consequences, causing stress (De Dreu, Dierendonck, & Dijkstra, 2004); and that such stress affects adversely employee's well- being (Frone, 2000; Steve & Jeffrey, 2003); stress at work is seen as an antecedent to interpersonal conflict, affecting well-being negatively (De Dreu, Dierendonck, and Dijkstra, 2004); interpersonal conflict at work is negatively related to employee's well-being (Zapf, Dormann, & Frese, 1996). Thus the results that horizontal conflict is negatively related to self esteem and general well-being and positively related to emotional exhaustion are consistent with the findings from past research.

The second assumption was that interpersonal conflict with superiors i.e., vertical conflict is negatively related to job satisfaction and organizational commitment and positively related to turnover intentions. The results revealed that conflict with superiors is significantly negatively related to job satisfaction and organizational commitment and significantly positively related to turnover intentions. The findings support the hypothesis that interpersonal conflict with superiors will negatively influence job satisfaction and organizational commitment and positively influence turnover intentions at work place.

Similar findings were made by Frone (2000) that vertical conflict is negatively related to job satisfaction and organizational commitment and positively related to turnover intentions. This model was supported from secondary analysis of the data of Donovan, Drasgow, & Muson (1998) to the extent of work satisfaction and turnover intentions. Janssen (2004) also found that interpersonal conflict is negatively related to organizational commitment of empowered employees. Conflict at work, negatively affects organizational commitment (De Dreu, Dierendonck, & Dijikstra, 2004). Specter and Jex (1998) summarized the past research that examined the relation of interpersonal conflict at work to organizationally relevant outcomes and reported that in case of organizational outcomes, the interpersonal conflict at work was negatively related to job satisfaction and positively related to turnover intensions. Eisenberger et al. (2002) in their work on supervisor support found that the relational conflict with supervisor is detrimental since it refers to subordinate's perception of organizational support, making the work environment less supportive. Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002) found that the perception that work environments are less supportive in turn lowers job satisfaction & organizational commitment and increases turn-over intentions. Thus the results that vertical conflict is negatively related to job satisfaction and organizational commitment and positively related to turnover intentions find support from past research.

However, the results also shows that the vertical conflict is also significantly related to personal outcomes i.e. significantly positively related to emotional exhaustion, and significantly negatively related to self-esteem and general well-being, the findings that was not expected. It indicates that in our organizational context, the interpersonal conflict with ones superiors have more deleterious effects as compared to interpersonal

conflict with ones colleagues.

The purpose of the present study was to find the relationship of horizontal and vertical conflict with personal and organizational outcomes. Overall, the present study has demonstrated that horizontal and vertical conflicts are important predictors of personal and organizational outcomes and the distinction between these two types of conflict is valid and that they have differential effects in the workplace. The horizontal conflict is significantly related to personal outcomes, whereas the vertical conflict is significantly related to both personal and organizational outcomes. The relationship of vertical conflict to both personal and organizational outcomes may be specific to our organizational context, and need to be investigated further.

The present study makes a significant contribution to the existing body of knowledge in the field of conflict. The findings also make a contribution to the training of business managers and workers.

Replicating the study in different work settings would add to its reliability and validity. It would be more enlightening if more diverse settings were explored for comparisons. Future research can expand the present study framework and include other variables as possible outcomes.

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Is Face the Index to Mind?
Chaucer's Description of the Characters in the "General Prologue"

Nasir Jamal Khattak
Department of English & Applied Linguistics
University of Peshawar

Also I prey yow to foryeve it me,
Al have I nat set folk in hir degree
Heere in this tale, as that they sholde stoned.[1]

Abstract

Chaucer's "General Prologue" allows us a peek into the person and character of the pilgrims we meet. Depending on how Chaucer describes them that we know what nature of people they are. Those who are aesthetically not very pleasing are invariably "bad." Even though Chaucer creates this impression that he has not dealt with his characters in accordance with their status, he rarely ever violates the accepted social and hierarchal norms.

Even though Chaucer is apologetic and modest about not giving his characters their due status in his "Prologue" to the *Canterbury Tales*, he faithfully follows and honors the hierarchy and class distinction his age so religiously followed. He not merely introduces them according to their status in that the ones at the top come before the ones at the bottom, but his physical description also fits their position in the social ladder. Long before we hear their tales we get a fair idea of how these people function in society and how they approach life and their profession so very practically. Their physical appearance is a reflection of their character and person. As such, Chaucer allows his reader to have a peek into the minds of his character through their appearance; their face is the index of their mind. Characters which are aesthetically pleasing tend to be "good" and belong to the landed gentry. Those physically not very pleasing are "bad" and are from the lower class. The Knight and the Squire, for example are described in a friendly and sympathetic manner as compared to the Pardoner and the other characters of Pardoner's status. The first two are from the landed gentry; the last two from the lower class. This paper is an attempt to show that among other tools like having the Knight and the Squire come first in the order and tell their tales ahead of the other pilgrims Chaucer also uses physical description of his characters in the "General Prologue" as an indicator of the mind and person of his characters. And that the description of the pilgrims is in accordance with their status and hierarchy in the society.

The physical description of his characters apparently distances Chaucer from his characters and lets his readers "see" them and their grossness. This, on the one hand, lends veracity to the pilgrims, and allows his readers to partake in the action on the other. All this Chaucer does in a manner that the established social and hierarchal norms are not challenged in any sense of the word.[2] Letting the Knight and the Squire

come first in the "General Prologue" and then have them win the draw and tell their tales in the same order is rather orchestrated and shows Chaucer's bias! As such, Chaucer's apologetic tone, reflected in the lines given above, sounds more dubious than ever. Nobody has to "foryeve it" him as he has not done anything out of the ordinary. In fact, he has "set folk in hir degree…as…they sholde stoned" (GP, 743-45) as far as the Knight and the Squire are concerned. Chaucer's tone and the physical description of the characters change with change in their status and hierarchy. It may not be inappropriate to say that Chaucer does not want to offend the sensitivity of his readers/audience, and that he portrays his characters exactly in accordance with the accepted social order and popular beliefs about different professions and people associated with them.[3]

The anonymous narrator of the *Canterbury Tales* wastes little time before focusing entirely upon the introduction of his twenty-nine fellow pilgrims. The pilgrimage itself, as well as the incentives for its undertaking, is given scant explanation. This is perhaps due to the popularity of pilgrimages during the Middle Ages, but there is also the sense that Chaucer's brevity on the subject also emphasizes the intangible, mysterious nature of the communal compulsion "for to seken straunge strondes,/To ferne halwes, kwthe in sundry londes" (GP 13-14) ["to seek the strange strands/Of far-off saints, hallowed in sundry lands"]. As we quickly discover, the Tales' seekers are assuredly a motley collection ranging from the devoutly pious to the degenerately profane. Although Chaucer does not explicitly question how such an ambiguous impetus can attract knights and haberdashers alike, there is certainly an unexpressed sentiment of wonder at the baffling complexities and contradictions of human nature. The compulsion "to seek the strange strands" appears inexplicable, and Chaucer takes his analysis no further than its attribution to the very same Nature that "priketh hem [birds] in hir corages" (GP 11) [nature pricks them and their heart engages"]. It is indeed a perspective with which the Romantics would have agreed whole-heartedly, forged from the inscrutable forces of April showers, March droughts, and blowing Zephyrs.

Chaucer's individual portraiture tends to focus on physical attributes, a literary device that allows the audience to be brought into more intimate relationship with the pilgrims. These physical attributes (or their conspicuous absence) also serve to implicitly distinguish social classes and lifestyles. For instance, the Squire, "A lovyere and a lusty bachelor" (GP 80) ["A lover and cadet, a lad of fire"] is immediately introduced by his "lokkes cruller as they were leyd in press….Of his stature he was of evene lengthe" (GP 81) ["with locks as curly as if they had been pressed….In stature he was of moderate length"]. Not only is the Squire's sensual bearing conveyed, but we are also compelled to simultaneously make the connection between his well-coifed hair and the fact that he must be able to *afford* this hygienic luxury. We do not necessarily know what he does—but we know that he is moderately well to do. There is hardly anything negative that the Squire does or hardly is there any physical property that invokes the reader's antipathy towards the knight-in-making. So much so

that even his future life seems to have nothing negative coming up in it. "Curteis he was, lowely, and servysable,/And Carf biforn his fader at the table (GP 100-101).

This physical emphasis is in sharp contrast to the portrayal of the Squire's father, the Knight. In his portraiture the physical references are minimal, centering briefly upon his meek countenance and simple clothing rather than any particular physical feature. The Knight's "worthiness" and "honor" is conveyed by not only the repeated sounds of those very words but most significantly by the sheer geographic expanse of his valiant exploits. We learn that

> At Alisaundre he was whan it was wonne
> ……..
> In Lettow hadde he reysed and in Ruce
> ……..….
> In Grenade at the seege eek hadde he be
> Of Algezir, and riden in Belamarye
> At Lyeys was he and at Satalye
> ……and in the Grete See
> ……
> And foughten for oure faith at Tramyssene (GP 51-62).[4]

By his omission of physical details and exhaustive list of conquests, Chaucer gives us the Knight as one who is seemingly above mere mortal man. This hierarchical placing—a position emphasized by his being the first portraiture—then preemptively excludes the Knight from the more human foibles of vanity and corruption while at the same time lending him a sense of universality. More action and behavior rather than a specified physical entity, the Knight portrays the intangible code of chivalry.[5]

Another interesting example of Chaucer's use of physical features is found in the description of the Pardoner, a pilgrim we later discover to be the most chimerical and amoral of them all. This eventual character revelation is foreshadowed is our first meeting when we are told that

> This Pardoner hadde heer as yellow as wex,
> But smothe it heeng as dooth a strike of flex;
> By ounces henge his lokkes that he hadde,
> And therewith he his shulddres overspradde;
> But thynne it lay, by colpons oon and oon (GP 675-680).[6]

With these few lines we realize that this pilgrim's very hair is full of persuasive pretense. As luxurious as his "locks" appear upon first glance, they differ vastly from those of the Squire's because upon a more through inspection we espy that they are in fact hanging "smoothly" and like "rat-trails." In a way we are warned that the Pardoner is far from what he first appears to be. This brief physical detail gains relevance we learn that this pilgrim makes his living through absolute bombast—after convincing people of their sins, the Pardoner in turn sells them meaningless yet expensive redemption. As authentic as they are proclaimed, his "croys of latoun ful of stones" (GP 699) ["cross of metal set with stones"] and the "pilwe-beer" ["pillow-

case"] which he says is "Oure Lady veyl" (GP 694-695) ["Our Lady's Veil"] and other "relikes" (GP 701) ["relics"] that support his wheedling are no more veritable than his smooth hair. By connecting the Pardon'er lifestyle with his physical bearing, Chaucer is able to not only give the audience an image but also to *imply* the nature of his character.

The use of the implicit in all of his portraitures, allows Chaucer to describe his pilgrims without having to resort to the curtailing judgment that explicitness often entails. For example, although the narrator straightforwardly does tell us that the Pardoner is amoral, Chaucer's vivid description is able to go beyond the confines of mere censuring. By not only rendering the Pardoner's duplicity but also the difficulty in approaching that duplicity, Chaucer is able to surpass portraiture and create a profound commentary on the elusive distinction between morality and immorality. The fat Monk with his smooth face and the twinkling eyes of the Friar are only two of the many further demonstrations of Chaucer's implicit intricacy, for their physical imagery lies in confounding contradictions with the stereotypes of their occupations. In this manner ample space is provided for subtle ideological irony, and the feeling that there is always "more than meets the eye" perpetually beckons interpretation. With suggestion rather than statement as the narrative conveyance, the portraitures pave the way for the ensuing complexities of the *Canterbury Tales*.

Notes

[1]Geoffrey Chaucer, "General Prologue" [henceforth GP], *The Riverside Chaucer*, (ed.) F. N. Robinson (Princeton, NJ: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987), ll. 743-745. All subsequent references are to this edition and are parenthetically incorporated into the text of the paper and are shown by the letters, "GP" followed by line numbers. For the sake of convenience, modern version of the lines is reproduced below:

["Further I beg you to forgive it me
"If I neglect the order and degree
"And what is due to rank in what I've planned.
"I am short of wit as you will understand"]

For details see, *Chaucer: The Canterbury Tales*, trans. Nevill Coghill (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1951), p. 39. All subsequent references are to this edition and are incorporated into the text of this paper immediately after the original lines from the source above and are shown by the word, "Coghill" followed by page number.

[2]Nasir Jamal Khattak, "Chaucer's Canterbury Tales: Order in the Court of Chivalry," *The Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (2008): pp. 134-140. Khattak says that despite chaos in the society Chaucer shows "sense of order…in the overall narrative framework" (134-35). Also see Rob Pope who says that Chaucer keeps his readers suspended between order and order. "We start with one vision of order, which disintegrates, and only after much confusion and suffering do

we reach another, differently organized vision of order at the end" (54). Rob Pope, *How to Study Chaucer* (London: Macmillan Education, 1988); Robert B. Burlin, "Palamon and Arcite," *Chaucerian Fiction* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 95-111; and W. A. Davenport, "Forms of Narrative," *Chaucer and His English Contemporaries: Prologue and Tale in the Canterbury Tales* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998), pp. 167-207.

[3]Larry D. Benson, "The Canterbury Tales," *The Riverside Chaucer*, Third Edition, (ed.) F. N. Robinson (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987). Benson says, "each of Chaucer's fully described characters represents a different occupation, and each is a paragon of his her craft" 'wel koude' and 'verray parfit' echo throughout the General Prologue, as we are shown that each character well knows how to realize the potentialities of his or her occupation, whether for good or—far more often—for mischief" (5).

[4]Due to the length of the passage the modern version is reproduced below to avoid breaking the flow of the main argument:

["When we took Alexandia, he was there.
……
"In Lithuania he had ridden and in Russia,
……
"When in Granada, Algeciras sank
"Under assault he had been there, and in
"North Africa, raiding Benamarin;
"In Anatolia he had been as well
"And fought when Ayas and Attalia fell,
"For all along the Mediterranean coast
……
"And jousted for our faith at Tramissene"] (Coghill 20-21).

[5]For details see Khattak who he says, "Yet there is something in Chaucer's description of the Knight that singles him out, leaving him literally standing before all the other pilgrims. Not only the opening storyteller, he is also the first character to be introduced in the "General Prologue" (137).

[6]Following is the modern version of the passage that describes the Pardoner:

["This Pardoner had hair as yellow as wax,
"Hanging down smoothly like a hank of flax.
"In dribbles fell his locks behind his head
"Down to his shoulders which they overspread;
"Thinly they fell, like rat-trails, one by one"] (Coghill 37).

References

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CHANGES IN LATE ANGLO-INDIAN PHRASEOLOGY

Shazia Sadaf
Department of English & Applied Linguistics
University of Peshawar

Abstract

Anglo-Indian loan vocabulary is reflective of a slow evolutionary process spanning more than two centuries of linguistic exchange between two very diverse cultures. The last period was one of a self-imposed isolation of the British ruling class, when the gulf between the rulers and the native population was the widest. The British minority were intent on preserving their identity. As a result the Anglo-Indian community became a tight-knit, artificial social group. Against this background, Anglo-Indian words started reflecting the changing attitude of the 'Sahibs'. Although fewer new words were borrowed in the nineteenth century than in the earlier times, the existing loan words were used in novel ways, often as hybrid-combinative structures. Some English words and phrases developed into Anglo-Indian idioms, adding a contextual richness to period records and became distinctly condensed codes of experience of the ruling community. It is of a significant socio-linguistic importance that the later developments in the Anglo Indian vocabulary be acknowledged for a fuller understanding of the intricacies of historic and literary texts. This article aims to provide examples of the peculiarities of late Anglo Indian phraseology.

> 'Winter? Oh! You very English person,' laughed Avice. 'We don't have any spring, summer, autumn, and winter here; We have three seasons---the cold-weather, the hot-weather, and the rains'. [1]

The development of English spoken by the Anglo-Indians within the Indian context is an interesting and well researched topic.[2] A significant deviation from any mainstream enquiry into this area would be to identify the late Anglo-Indian period as 'Sahib-period' and compare the differences between early loan-vocabulary and the later developments in AI speech. The speech of the British population at different stages during their stay in India is of interest because it was modified by the changing political and social circumstances. The move from the commercial interests of the East India Company to the Imperialism of the *Raj* affected the use and treatment of Indian loan-words.

A rulers' stance affected the Sahibs' manner of speech. Late Anglo-Indians also had the benefit of a condensed knowledge of British India, passed on to them by their predecessors. For them, AI words were what I term 'codes of experience'. They evolved into complex forms as they became more than simple loans from a different language resulting from necessary, but limited contact with the conquered populace.

That is the main reason why it is important for these words to be decoded for a better contextual understanding of the writings of the period. Why this needs to be done can be answered in the same vein as the need, say, for a handbook of Shakespeare's English for readers inquiring into the intricacies of the language of that period. In fact, that would be the key to the correct understanding of Shakespeare's text. Writers like Kipling alone make it unlikely, if not impossible, for us to forget this Indian element in the history of the English language.

For the ease of readers and researchers of Anglo-Indian writings, a study of the distinctive Anglo-Indian period of the Sahibs must convey the meanings of words and their connotations as these were understood by them at the time. It was a time of increasing social isolation and superiority. Paradoxically, at the same time as their isolation from the Indian population was taking place, desperate bonds were being forged amongst the ruling people within their own confines, giving rise to community codes. The Sahib-period was one where the division between the Englishman and the native was the widest; that of a ruler and a subject. Following Thomas Babington Macaulay's views on the inferiority of the Indian heritage, speaking in the local languages was not considered to be as important as had been previously thought.

It is surprising that such social withdrawal allowed any use of local vocabulary at all. Nevertheless, as writings from the period show, although there was little increase in new borrowing itself, the existing loans were treated as Anglo-Indian rather than Indian. Their meanings had already deviated from the languages of origin due to decades of AI use. The vocabulary was further modified within the tighter social framework of Englishmen for whom conformity to their language and social status was of paramount political importance. This was the Sahib who handed over the necessary tool of AI core vocabulary to the newly arrived *griffins* (British new-comers to India) as an essential welcome into India: Sahibs' India. Many saw very little of the real one.

The linguistic borrowing by the Anglo-Indians was not merely confined to words. Phrases and ideas were also adopted to describe and better deal with surroundings which were decidedly non English. Conversely, some English expressions also gained an Anglo-Indian status as they lent themselves to the peculiarities of the new situation. This category of loans is reflective of the cultural and geographical challenges faced by the Anglo-Indians. The knowledge and background required for decoding the specific phraseology was even more essential than the knowledge of individual words, for acceptance into the AI community, mainly because these idiomatic expressions reflected more complex cultural changes. Familiarity with AI ideas was everything. It meant survival in Anglo-India. The word Anglo-India itself is a reflection of the abstract conceptual country within an Anglo-Indian mind rather than the real India.

Due to the wide variety and complex forms of adaptations resulting from Indian influences on Anglo-Indian speech, recent researchers have begun to use expressions

like Hobson-Jobsonisms as 'a term in linguistics for that kind of corruption of words from one language by speakers from another'.[3]

> To some of the expedients adopted and errors made by Anglo-Indians who have failed to master the vernacular, has been accorded a world-wide fame (Anglo-Indian) as great as was ever won by the bons mots of Sheridan.[4]

Words like *bobachee*, *nabob*, and *gow-wallah* are all Hobson-Jobsonisms. Most errors of this kind are limited to the early loan period. A close scrutiny of late Anglo Indian writings reveals that the focus later changed to the transferred, combinative and figurative use of loan-words. The shift needs further exploration, since Anglo-Indian linguistic research has been more concerned with early distortions in borrowed vocabulary, as the quote above suggests. It should be stressed that the late AI period was dominated by change in existing meanings. Traditional views of AI loan vocabulary fail to adequately comment on this change.

Robert Lord points out that the changes in the meanings of words happen and are propagated for two reasons:
a) Each time a word or idiom is used, its meaning changes because people have a tendency to ignore their grammatical structure. (This is very common in early AI English, e.g. the use of nouns as verbs).
b) Speakers adopt new meanings by reproducing what they have heard others say. These changes are usually limited to a small group of people. Sometimes these changes form in-group 'slang' but 'a proportion of these changes become fixed, usually through somebody's writing them down'.[5]
The second reason is the one responsible for the peculiarities in the use of the words by the latter, more self-contained Sahib community.

The average Sahib's India was usually confined to a 'Station' in a *mofussil*. His year was divided into 'Hot Weather,' 'Cold weather' and 'The Rains'. His travel in India was between the 'Plains' and the 'Hills'. At the end of his 'Exile' he went 'Home'. To someone not familiar with the AI implications of these words, all is confusion.

In most writings of the period, one encounters these late AI developments. Handbooks that briefed new arrivals about this terminology were considered a necessity for the griffins.

> Here the seasons can be hardly divided into three---cold weather, hot weather, and rains. (Braddon, p.11)

Once a newcomer grasped the essential vocabulary, one would expect him to be comfortable with using all the new expressions with confidence, e.g. Howell casually

remarking in her everyday memoir that 'th[e] last cold-weather, [they] had many tamashas' (Howell p.17).

The trouble, however, was likely to arise all over again, when their AI speech created problems in readjusting to the English language upon their return to Britain.

> 'My dear Isabel,' put in Mrs. Fleetwood, 'You appear to have forgotten that Captain Mickam will be Home the beginning of this cold weather!'
> Isabel flushed and looked uneasy. She threw a glance of appeal at her sister.
> 'Winter you mean, mother, not "cold weather"', Marion corrected promptly. She spoke with a certain asperity in order to divert attention from Isabel, though indeed her mother's habit of using Indian words and phrases was a perpetual small irritation. Mrs. Fleetwood persisted in calling an entrée 'a side-dish', alluding to luncheon as 'tiffin', to kitchen pots and pans as degchies, and so on.[6]

Differences in AI English during the early and late periods extend to loan-phrases as well. As the priorities of the British in India changed, so did their living conditions and contacts with the native population. The phraseology that was needed by the Anglo-Indians, a rich merchant class, was of a different nature than when they took on the role of administrators. Much later, as they became rulers of the Indian Sub-continent, the perspective suffered a further change. The period specified as 'Sahib period' was one of superiority and isolation. This superiority not only lifted the Sahibs above their Indian subjects, but placed them above their own predecessors (the Nabobs), their commercial class fellow countrymen (the Box-wallahs), and those of mixed blood (Eurasians).

Whereas a comprehensive dictionary like *Hobson Jobson* records most of these AI expressions, it fails in some places to show the difference in their early and later use. For example, early AI expressions like *Nabob*, *Qui-hie*, and 'to shake the pagoda tree' are treated in the same category as the much later developments *kala-juggah* and *durwaza bund*. Both ages are simply wrapped up as Anglo-Indian, which is an oversimplification of a complex semantic evolution.

Early English settlers in India came for the purpose of trade, and their aim was to make money i.e. 'to shake the pagoda tree' as quickly as possible, and then to return to England with their riches. The expression evolved from familiarity of Englishmen with the word 'pagoda' used for currency in Madras amongst East India Company traders. Thus 'to shake the pagoda tree' came to mean the opportunity to make as much money in as little time as possible.While they were in India they had no hesitation in mixing with the Indians. They had no need to establish linguistic supremacy. A *Nabob* was the product of a pagoda tree while the Sahibs considered it a slight to be either sweepingly

called *Nabobs*, or to be labelled as ones who wanted to shake the pagoda tree. They prided themselves for their high moral code, which was the very justification of their rule in India. The borrowed word *Nabob* reverted back phonetically and semantically to its original form: *nawab*. However, for the Sahib, the term was applicable only to the local gentry without any tones of the awe it had originally carried, because a local nawab's administrative power was curtailed by the British Government. As for the pagoda tree expression, it became obsolete, and was only used in a derogatory way to widen the division between the Sahib and his predecessors. Therefore any Sahib whose morality was in question would most likely be attacked with the phrase, as Braddon does with a sneering comment that 'the Pagoda tree […] continued for some time to yield a tolerable crop to those who shook it' (p.63).

There are even examples of these terms being used collectively as compound adjectives to emphasize the segregation between the early and late Anglo-Indian period. The use of 'cult of England' for Sahibs in the extract below, reveals their staunch views about the preservation of a strictly British identity. By contrast, the easygoing lifestyle of the Gissings family is labelled as that of the 'nabob-and-pagoda-tree' kind:

> There was no cult of England. Everything was frankly staunchly of the nabob-and-pagoda-tree style; for the Gissings preferred India….[7]
> [The Gissings' had servants] dressed in the nabob-and-pagoda-tree style….old-fashioned servants with the most antiquated notions as to the needs of the sahib-logue. (*On the Face of the Waters,* p.52)

Other differences between the Nabobs and the Sahibs, e.g. their cuisine, also produced unique AI expressions. The early settlers had easy eating habits. Their food was cooked by the *bobachees* (native cooks). They did not insist upon European fare. In the Sahib period, again due to the intervention of the *Memsahib* (a European lady), the food on an Anglo-Indian table became, if not totally English, at least modified to suit the English palate. Earlier eating habits came under attack as more and more cookery books came forth, written by AI housewives. Prejudice against the old regime is quite apparent in extracts like these:

> Our dinners of to-day would indeed astonish our Anglo-Indian forefathers….Quality has superseded quantity, and the molten curries and florid oriental compositions of the olden time---so fearfully and wonderfully made---have been gradually banished from our dinner tables.[8]

Because of views like this, the expression 'curry and rice' became associated with the old regime, prompting usages like '[…] in the Bengal days, very few English people had nurses[…]it was still rather curry-and-rice days', and 'it was rather a curry-and-rice bungalow, it belong[ed] to the old days' in various writings of the period.[9] One

George Atkinson's book of that period is also titled *Curry and Rice on Forty Plates*, which is interesting to note because he has caricatured the habits and living of Anglo-Indians and the changes that have taken place over a period of time.[10]

The same process of change can be traced in the use of the expression '*qui-hi'*, originally a short sentence meaning literally 'Is anyone there?'. Initially borrowed as summons for a servant, over a period of time this impersonal call came to be associated with the Anglo-Indians of the Bengal Presidency due to the frequency of times the words were shouted in the course of a day. During the Sahib period the meaning shifted and became shady. Like the term nabob, *Qui-hie* also fell out of favour with the Sahibs. The laziness associated with the term did not suit a Sahib's devotion to reform. Increasingly, it was used as a distinguishing factor between a Company Administrator and a Civil Officer of the British Government. The adjective 'old' was usually attached, emphasizing their long stay in India, unlike most in the Civil Services for whom it was an 'Exile'. This accounts for comments like 'Mr. Danvers is a regular old Qui-hi, he will think about nothing but the rupees' (Howell, p.82), and 'The last arrival is a judge of the Sudder Adawlut---an old "qui hai" who has put in over thirty-five years in India'.[11] There are other examples that reflect the attitude of the old-school Anglo-Indians, 'the old hands, the regular *Qui-hies* [who always] stood perfectly unmoved' about the state of the natives.[12]

It is interesting to note that in the three borrowed expressions, the *Nabob* (East-India Company merchant), the *Qui-hie* (Company-Administrator), and the *Sahib* (Civil-officer of the British Crown), one can trace the changing roles of the Englishman in India. Also, their use by each has different shades of meaning. To the latter AI period collective nouns reflecting a sense of superiority, like white-*Brahmins* and *sahib-logue*, can be attributed.

Sahib period phraseology owes much to the arrival of the Memsahib. Prior to that, the social set-up of the Anglo-Indians was less complex. With the coming of the British womenfolk, mostly in search of eligible husbands, a new scene evolved. Courtship rules had to be redefined in British India, both practically and linguistically. The phrase *kalajuggah* is just one such interesting reflection of that need.

Sometimes when a phrase is borrowed, 'its composite parts are no longer recognizable and we have a simple word, not a compound at all…the same result is often produced when a foreign phrase is adopted into English'.[13] This can be said of the expression *kalajuggah*. Originally two words, *kala* for black, and *juggah* for place, it literally translates into 'dark-place'. In AI it came to mean 'specially created private alcoves for purposes of flirtation'. These were provided at parties and social gatherings to give a chance to eligible bachelors and maids to meet legitimately. This was perfectly acceptable in an Anglo-Indian set-up:

> The passages round the ball-room were filled with comfortable chairs and sofas ready to receive those wearied by the dance; and here and there curtained and dimly lighted *Kala-juggahs* laid traps for the unwary bachelor or maid. [14]
> '[…]They can talk to the subalterns though, and the subalterns can talk to them. Your salon would suit their views admirably, if you respected the religious prejudices of the country and provided plenty of *kala juggahs*.' [15]
> As she moved slowly towards some low chairs placed behind a group of graceful ferns---a most inviting "Kala jugga"---someone who had been leaning against the verandah rails, stepped forward into the light….[16]

However, since the English female population in India was sparser than the males, *kalajuggahs* became acknowledged gaming spots for married Anglo-Indians who were usually starved for recreation. Many writings bear testimony to the practice.

> "Well, to begin with, I took the Hawley Boy to a *kala juggah*." (Mrs. Hauksbee)[17]

> 'I've known more than one of these blamed platonic friendships---Plato probably invented the *kala-jaggah*---knocked on the head by a little judicious rotting […]'(Irvine, p.82).

> […]during a big dance at the club Duant took Mrs. Weatherby into a *kalajaga*, and they made themselves comfy in a corner.[18]

Another such expression is '*durwaza-bund*'. The social etiquettes of the Anglo-Indians followed a strict code. All customary practices were to be followed precisely, and the social hierarchy within AI circles respected. Most writings hint at this fact, e.g. an Anglo-Indian novel warns that 'the etiquette of society in India demands as rigid a distinction of, and respect for, comparative rank as discipline demands from an army in the field'.[19] Paying respectful visits to all the senior officers' residences when one arrived in a Station was a necessary practice. If one arrived and the hosts did not wish to invite the guests in, it was perfectly acceptable for a servant to announce '*durwaza bund'*, literally 'door closed', whereupon one would leave without any offence taken, the duty being dispensed with. This expression was quite popular and its social implications widely understood in AI circles as demonstrated in the angry words of Mrs. Hauksbee, one of Kipling's famous characters: '"I would not!" [she] said fiercely. "I would tell the bearer to *durwaza bund* them. I would put their own colonels and commissioners at the door to turn them away"'. [20] Other memoirs reveal the same practice that 'if the master and mistress are not visible…there are uttered to us the mystic words, '*durwaza bund'*, and leaving our cards, we drive off' (Braddon, p.105).

Most AI expressions belong to the Sahib period because they are a consequence of the circumstances during the latter part British rule in India. Like *kalajuggah*, a social need within the isolated ruling-class community at the time, the words 'Plains' and 'Hills' mean more in AI English than in Standard English. The British Civil Officers worked in far flung *mofussil* [rural] areas where they were posted and held administrative responsibilities. With the onset of the 'hot weather,' the Government Capital shifted to the cooler mountain city of Simla. Most officers' wives and children were sent to the mountain regions because the heat was intense in the plains. So while the officers worked in the 'Plains,' the 'Hills' became a social hub of activity. The men would come up to Simla only for official reporting, or during their short leave periods. Only the very loyal wives would brave the 'hot weather' and resulting diseases in the 'Plains' with their husbands. One female writer comments sarcastically that 'being the Virtuous Woman, she should have remained in the plains with her husband during the hot weather to the detriment of her complexion. (Irvine, p.5)

The resulting connotations of such common usage are interesting: 'Plains' meant work, heat and disease; and 'Hills' signified relaxation, cool weather and flirtation. Kipling has often been criticized for popularizing the idea of a frolicking Memsahib in his stories, but most writings reinforce the same general picture. Whether genuinely accurate or otherwise, the view was well-rooted enough for the words to develop specific connotations that readers need to be aware of. The subtle pun in the title of Kipling's short story collection *Plain Tales From the Hills*, would probably be lost on a reader ignorant of the AI implications of the words.

Indian vernacular idioms were also borrowed where needed, but usually in a translated form. Of these, some appear to have been more popularly used than others. The expression 'to eat the air', a literal translation of *hawa khana* in Urdu, is a good example. The citations below clearly reflect the meaning:

> At this time unhappy Anglo-Indian babes are dragged out of their beds and paraded along the roads to 'eat the air' and as much dust as may be available for consumption. (Braddon, p.129)
>
> The rooms are built with projecting platforms, on which the women may sit, and eat the air, as the natives call it, within the walls of their residence.[21]
>
> I enjoyed my tent life at Hubiganj exceedingly and often "ate the air"…[22]
>
> Herbert and I enjoyed a walk together by the river-side, which was indeed the great randezvous for all the station-folk who "ate the air"…in their respective vehicles. (Reynolds, p.24)

> Of course you will take a drive on the Mall, to "eat the air," as we call it in Eastern phraseology.[23]

The AI version of 'eating the air' however, had its own particular implication. The Victorian ideas on health demanded a compulsory out of doors activity, even more so in India where sickness and disease were most feared. A customary daily 'eating air,' in the Cantonment *maidan* in the cities and by the river in the *mofussil*, was considered healthy for children and adults, and the practice was rigidly, if sometimes warily, followed.

Much as there was a need for some borrowing of Indian vernacular words and phrases, a Sahib was never quite willing to speak the common Hindustani. Speaking in Hindustani was reserved mostly for short instructions to native servants, or the all important scolding. It is greatly amusing to read lines like 'The spring of the carriage was broken…[so] he *Hindustani'd* the syce'.[24] So common was the use of the local language for admonition, that the noun 'Hindustani' was modified into a verb to conceptualize the act. Such hints are apparent in other writings too, e.g. 'While we sat on our ponies waiting for the syces to come up, and using much violent Hindustani at them at the pitch of our voices'.[25] Perhaps the limited use of Hinustanee can be seen best in these verses:

> [Lord Walker] He said he'd see the natives hung
> Before he'd learn their lingo;---
> If he'd his way, the British tongue
> He'd teach them all, by Jingo!
> His Hindostanee words were few---
> They couldn't well be fewer---
> As "Jeldy jao!" and "Deckho, do!"
> And "Kupperdar, you soor!"[26]

Lawrence James writes that John Gilchrist's Hindustani phrasebook published in 1800 'provided the novice with the language of command and rebuke'.[27] It shows that learning the Hindustani language was mainly undertaken by a Sahib to serve these purposes. This also accounts for the fact that most verbs were borrowed in their imperative form and then modified to suit the purpose, e.g *puckeraoed* from *pakarna* (to seize; lay hold of) in Urdu, *pukerow* being its original imperative form; or the imperative *chel* from *chalna* (to go) modified to *chall*ing and *chall*ed.

In some cases, general terms of respect used for the British by the natives slowly gained a sahib-specific status within the AI community. The best example of this kind of specification is the word Sahib itself. However, words like *istikbal* (welcome), and *rooksut* (leave; *rooksut lena*: 'to take leave' literally in Urdu) used non-specifically for all occasions, became confined to more formal use by the Anglo-Indians. Both abstract nouns were modified into verbs in the infinitive form by the addition of the English

'to': 'to *istikbal'*; 'to take *rooksut'*. The former was used as a term for formal protocol given to a senior officer by subordinates, and the latter for formal leave-taking.

> All the native officers of my corps came out five miles to meet me, and "Istakbal" me into the Cantonements.[28]

> Today there was in addition the long procession going to give the istikbal, ceremonious meeting to the new Resident.[29]

Also, the use of the word *Sirkar* for the British Government by the natives resulted in the Sahibs referring to themselves as agents of 'the Sirkar'. It was this specific meaning which was the only one familiar to the average Anglo-Indian. Similarly, *nuzzer* or 'an offering' was specifically understood by the Anglo-Indians as an offering to a Sahib:

> It is customary in the Punjab for every native when visiting a superior to hold out a 'nazar' or offering.[30]

There are some phrases evidently in use during the period, which are etymological mysteries and still need to be unravelled. One such expression is 'in mufti'. Even the authors of *Hobson Jobson* wonder at its origins. Albert Berrere's *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon, and Cant* categorizes it as 'Anglo-Indian slang' and only comments that it originates from the word *mufti* for a priest in Urdu. Its meaning in AIE was 'out of uniform' or 'in civilian clothes'. The following uses show that the use of the expression was not only confined to the army circles, which lifts it out of the army slang category into a more general AI use:

> He objected to garments of white
> Anglo-Indians frequently wear.
> Snowy trousers in *mufti*, a sight
> Too torturing for him to bear.[31]

> Everyone seemed to be in uniform except myself, and I felt very out of it. Suddenly, I saw another person in mufti.[32]

> They were *in mufti*, which, however, was no disguise to their martial swagger…[33]

For whatever secret reason that might someday be revealed by further research, 'in mufti' remains one of the enigmas of Anglo-Indian coded speech.

Although the examples of such novel uses of phraseology developed within the late Anglo-Indian context given here are in no way comprehensive, yet the aim has been to bring to notice the necessity of recognizing these peculiarities. A closer scrutiny will

reveal the sociolinguistic importance of Anglo-Indian writings that are so decisively part of the history of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent.

Notes

[1] Constance Howell, *Married in India* (London: John Ouseley, c.1910), p.32.

[2] I choose to use the term 'Anglo-Indian' (abbreviated hereafter as AI) for the British population living in India. It is not to be confused with 'Eurasian', a term referring to people of mixed Anglo-Indian descent in my study. More recently it has been the tendency to replace the term Eurasian with Anglo-Indian for the people of mixed race in India.

[3] Melvyn Bragg, *The Adventure of English* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2003), p.260. *Hobson Jobson* is the title of the first Anglo-Indian Glossary of its kind. The title itself is a corruption of a phrase shouted by Muslims in a procession during *Moharrum* 'Ya Hassan, Ya Hussain' which became 'Hosseen Gosseen' and finally 'Hobson Jobson'.

[4] Edward Braddon, *Life in India* (London: Longmans Green, 1872), p.201.

[5] Robert Lord, *The Words We Use* (London: Kahn & Averill, 1994), p.31.

[6] Alice Perrin, *The Anglo-Indians* (London: Methuen & Co., 1912), p.170.

[7] Flora Annie Steel, *On the Face of The Waters* (London: Heinmann, 1897), pp. 47-48.

[8] "Wyvern" *Culinary Jottings: Reformed Cookery for Anglo-Indian Exiles* (Madras: Higginbotham, 1885), *Introduction*, p.1.

[9] Lady Smyth, Charles Allen Tapes. Mss. Eur. T62-63.

[10] George Franklin Atkinson, *Curry and Rice (on Forty Plates), or The Ingredients of Social Life at "Our" Station in India*, 4the Edition (London: W. Thacker & Co., 1911), (Calcutta & Simla: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1911).

[11] Douglas Dewar, *Bygone Days in India* (London: Bodley Head, 1922), p.234.

[12] Henry R. Addison*, Traits and Stories of Anglo-Indian Life* (London: Smith, Elder 1858), p.67.

[13] James B. Greenough & George L. Kitteredge, *Words and Their Ways in English Speech* (London, Macmillan, 1902) p.189. Examples are given of phrases like Aide-de-camp; or phrase compounds like alarm (Italian call 'to arms!') kickshaws, which is a corruption of French *quelque chose* (something), and French *jeu parti* (where chances are equal) resulting in English word jeopardy.

[14] A. A. Irvine, *In a Simla Season* (Lahore: Civil & Military Gazette Press, 1911), p.60.

[15] Rudyard Kipling, 'The Education of Otis Yeere' in *The Man Who Would Be King* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics, 1994), p.7.

[16] Lizzie Colthurst, *A Woman's Faith and Other Stories* (Calcutta: W. Newman, 1900), p.64.

[17] Rudyard Kipling, 'A Second-Rate Woman' in *The Man Who Would Be King & Other Stories*, p.52.

[18] Louis Tracy. *Meeting the Sun* (Allahabad: The Morning Post, 1898), p.18.

[19] *The Morlands*, anon. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1888), p.49.

[20] Kipling, 'The Education of Otis Yeere' in *The Man Who Would be King*, p.6.

[21] Fanny Parkes, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque* (Lonon: Pelham Richardson, 1850) p.63.

[22] Mrs. Herbert Reynolds, *At Home in India* (London: Henry J. Drane, 1903), p.34.

[23] Atkinson, *Curry & Rice*. There are no page numbers in this book.

[24] Letter to Mr. C. Greville from Barrackpore April 17th, 1837. *Miss Eden's Letters*. (London: Macmillan, 1919).

[25] *Rings From A Chota Sahib's Pipe*, anon. (Calcutta: Paul.C. Moses, 1901), p.97.

[26] Walter Yeldham, 'The Wonderful Shikaree' in *Lays of Ind* (Bombay: Thacker, Vining & Co. 1907). *Jeldy jao* means 'go quickly'; *deckho do* means 'look, give me'; and *kupperdar* you *soor* means 'beware, you pig'.

[27] Lawrence James, *Raj: The Making of British India* (London: Abacus, 1998), p.159.

[28] London, British Library, Oriental & India Office, Captin C. F. Trower, Mss. Eur. B 298/1, fol. 1-7.

[29] *The Journals of Honoria Lawrence*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1980), p.138.

[30] John Beames, *Memiors of a Bengal Civilian* (London: Eland Books, 1984), p.112.

[31] Walter Yeldham, 'O'Leary's Revenge' in *Lays of Ind.*

[32] C. A. Kincaid. *Twenty-four Years a Public Servant* (London: William Blackwood, 1934), p.14.

[33] Flora Annie Steel, *Voices in The Night,* p.140.

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Revisiting 'Shridhara' in the National Museum Karachi

Ibrahim Shah
Department of Archaeology
Hazara University, MANSEHRA

Abstract

Shridhara (one of the 24 forms of Vishnu, a powerful god of the Hindu triad) under review is now in the reserve collection (formerly on display) of National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. It was dated in the ninth/tenth centuries CE. Abdul Aziz Farooq subsequently revised its date and placed in the sixth/seventh centuries. It caught our attention during this author's PhD field work. The dating of Farooq needs revision in view of the iconographic and artistic peculiarities of the icon. We would suggest a date falling in the late ninth or early tenth centuries CE for this Shridhara image.

Stone sculptures manufactured in East Bengal (now Bangladesh) are carved in relief on the typical black stone of Bengal with the main figure occupying central part of the panel surrounded by other details including heavenly creatures, vegetal motifs and attributes as well as the mount of the divinity (see for instance, Shah 2002; 2004; 2006; 2009).

The present sculpture shows the main figure standing in *sthanaka* pose in *samapada* on the central part of a stone slab with low pedestal, which is carved with *Garuda* in the middle, and a worshipper each displaying *anjalimudra* on the right and left projections. The central deity holds lotus bud in the lower right, *chakra* in his upper right, *gada* with ribbed apex in the upper left and *shankha* in the lower left hands (abbreviated here as PCGS) (cf. Haque 1992: 53, Table C). He is wearing *kiritamukuta, ratnakundala* and a modest *hara*. Among other ornaments mention may be made of a *vanamala, keyuras, kangana, nupuras, yajnopavita* and *manimekhala.* He is shown wearing typical Bengali *dhoti* with folds represented by incised lines drooping downwards like the folds of drapery. *Shrivatsa* mark is clearly visible on the right side of the god's chest. Two *vidyadharas* are carved at the level of his head flying towards the central figure carrying floral wreaths in their hands, which symbolise victory. The deity is flanked by two male attendants on his right and left with their hands close to the deity in *katyavalambitahasta* and the hands apart in each case hold flower. They might be Jaya and Vijaya, the two Puranic *dvarapalas* of the palace of Vishnu, who were subsequently transformed into *asuras* (Rao 1914, I, i: 147). The composition of the slab is very simple without overcrowded carvings of vegetal forms and other creatures like the sculptures of the late period. *Kirttimukha* at the top of the slab is also absent. The pedestal is also very simple without many projections unlike the later sculpture.

The figure of Vishnu in his Shridhara form constituting an integral part of the stele, the god's vehicle (Garuda) just below him on the pedestal, absence of *prabhavali* and *kirttimukha* design, simple back slab, soft texture of the fleshy body parts, half rounded top, clinging garment, simple and heavy jewellery (Majumdar 1963: 535-541; Haque 1992: 57), and the simple base of the relief stele (Harle 1986: 215-216) suggest a date in the ninth or early tenth centuries for the Shridhara under review (cf. Haque 1992: 61-62). A stylistic comparison of this sculpture with the evolved images of the Bengal school leads us to revise Farooq's already revised date of the sixth/seventh centuries CE (1987-88: 334). His suggested date does not hold good keeping in view the stylistic and chronological evolution of the Brahmanical Hindu icons in the region.

Farooq (1987-88) rightly identifies the present sculpture with Shridhara, one of the *chaturavimshatimurtis* (or 24 forms) of Vishnu. B. B. Bidyabinod (1991/1920) has analyzed them at length in the light of the three iconographic texts, viz., the *Agni Purana* (chapter 48), the *Padma Purana* (chapter 78) and the *Chaturvarga Chintamani* of Hemadri. All these forms of Viṣṇu could be distinguished by the attributes held differently in his four hands in the *pradakshina* (or clockwise) order: lower and upper right hands, upper and lower left hands (Bidyabinod 1991: 24). Thus, according to the *Agni Purana*, the form of Vishnu holding his standard attributes (i.e. *padma, chakra, gada and shankha*, abbreviated as PCGS) in the order noticed in our icon should be called Shridhara (ibid: 25; Haque 1992: 53, Table C). But the same text, at another place, substitutes *gada* for *sharanga* (a type of bow) (ibid: 26). Enamul Haque (1992: 52) does not agree to consider *sharanga* as an attribute in any of the 24 forms of Vishnu, which, according to him, may have been mistaken for *shankha*. Similar is the designation given by Hemadri (Bidyabinod 1991: 26-27) unlike the *Padma Purana*, which suggests this order for *Hrishikesha* (ibid: 27). Shridhara, according to the *Padma Purana* and Hemadri, should wield *gada, chakra, padma, shankha* (i.e. GCPS); and *padma, chakra, gada* and *shankha* (i.e. PCGS) respectively (Bidyabinod 1991: 30; cf. Haque 1992: 51), while the *Rupamandana* prescribes *chakra, gada, shankha and padma* (i.e. CGSP) (Rao 1914, I. i: 229) for Shridhara that does not tally with our sculpture. Bidyabinod (1991: 33, Pl. VIII/d) illustrates a Shridhara image, now in the Indian Museum Kolkata, holding the four attributes in agreement with the description contained in the *Agni Purana*, which verifies the attributes of our image.

Acknowledgements
I am grateful to Dr. Fazal Dad Kakar, Director General, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, for kindly allowing me to reproduce the photographs of the image of Shridhara under consideration. I am also thankful to the staff of the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, for their generous help and cooperation.

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Shridhara in the National Museum Karachi

Details of the upper part of the image

Gandi Umar Khan:
A Forgotten City of the Indus Civilization in the Gomal Plain, Pakistan

Ihsan Ali
&
Zakirullah Jan
Lecturer, Department of Archaeology,
University of Peshawar

Abstract

Gomal Plain has always been a charming area for different people in the ancient times. The fertility of the soil and its rich pastures and meadows were perhaps the major reasons. Gandi Umar Khan is the largest settlement among all the archaeological in the NWFP to have Harappan antiquities. What makes this site even more attractive for research and researchers is the Kot Dijian culture. This paper documents the work the authors conducted in Gandi Umar Khan.

Gomal Plain, a melting pot of diverse cultures and civilizations, attracted people from Afghanistan, Central Asia, Iran, Baluchistan and the Indus Basin in different times. All these people left their marks in the form of mounds and monuments. Being a flood plain of the Rivers Indus, Gomal, Zhob and other hill torrents, the valley provided good pastures and grazing grounds in ancient times to the inhabitants and settlers. These cultural activities have been attested by the large numbers of archaeological sites, which were discovered by different scholars (Cunningham 1882, Stein 1929, Dani 1970–71, Ali 1988, Rahman 1997, Durrani 1998 and Ali & Jan 2004). Keeping in view the importance of the Gomal Plain, the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of NWFP, made a major breakthrough in the archaeological scouting in the region by discovering and documenting 150 sites ranging in age from 7000 years B.P. to the late 19th Century (Ali & Jan 2005).

During this research eleven mature Harappan Period sites were recorded in the region in which Gandi Umar Khan is the largest settlement among all the sites so far known in the NWFP. Another attraction for research work at this site is the Kot Dijian culture, which is also found here. No other site in this region, except a thin Harappan occupation at Gumla (Dani 1970 - 71), has so far yielded Harappan and Kot Dijian antiquities together.

Realising the significance of the Gandi Umar Khan site, in the region, the authors launched an expedition at the site to unearth and establish a cultural profile. The site of Gandi Umar Khan is located 55 km west of D.I Khan City (Rahman 1997, Ali and Jan 2004) and covers an area of 220 x 200 m with a maximum height of 8.5 m (Plate No. I). It was discovered in 1997 first by the Directorate of Archaeology and Museum (Rahman 1997) and then by University of Peshawar and is the most important archaeological site of the Indus Valley Civilization in the Frontier Province (Durrani

1998). Earlier, this region was considered as out of the extent of the Harappan Civilisation. But the discovery and excavations of Gandi Umar Khan has changed these hypotheses and has added new dimensions to the study of the Harappan Civilization.

The authors conducted two seasons of excavations at Gandi Umar Khan, first in September 2003 to January 2004 and then in September 2004 to January 2005. The first phase of excavation was vertical to learn the cultural profile of the site whereas the second phase of excavation was horizontal, to identify the town planning of the city. In the first phase, a trial trench for obtaining preliminary information was laid on the southern mound of the site (Plate No. II). The goals were to (a) learn the cultural profile of the site, (b) understand the relationship between different periods and (c) establish the chronology of Bronze Age cultures in this region.

Two main periods were identified at the site i.e. the Harappan and Kot Dijian, the former on the top and the latter one at the bottom. The most exciting element of the excavation was the relationship between the two periods. Many scholars are of the view that the Harappan Civilization was derived from the Kot Dijian and sometimes called it "Early Harappan" culture. Some researchers have identified a transitional phase between them at certain sites. But no such transitional phase was noticed here. Rather a complete occupational break between the two periods was observed. A fifty-five centimetre thick ashy layer, devoid of any cultural material, separates the Kot Dijians from the Harappans. There is also an ashy sterile level within the Harappan levels representing an occupational break but in this case the artefacts and architecture are the same in both phases.

As the first investigation of the site produced encouraging results, the authors launched a second season excavation in 2004 with the aims of (a) learning the architecture and town planning of the site, (b) unearthing more evidence of the Harappan cultural material (c) highlighting the significance of the Indus civilisation in the region and (d) understanding the Harappan–Kot Dijian relationship.

The second season's work was also very fruitful and 9 trenches were opened on the southern mound of the site. During these excavations various house units were exposed. A 1.5 m side lane was also cleared, which was running in N-S direction. On both sides of the lane were rooms, square in plan.

The Harappans as well as the Kot Dijians at the site of Gandi Umar Khan in the Gomal Plain were living in mud brick structures, unlike at Harappa and Moenjodaro, where they were living in kiln – baked brick structures (Plate No. III). However, standardized mud bricks on typical Harappan standard, were used in the construction. Burnt brick of various sizes were found on the surface of the site but no structures made of such bricks were found. The collected bricks from the surface also include wedge shape

bricks, which were probably used in wells. The other bricks were probably used in water related areas like bathrooms and drains etc.

The orientation of the rooms is the same (E-W) as in the other Harappan sites. Household objects like storage jars, grinding stones, pottery, jewellery, hearths etc were uncovered in the rooms. The rooms opened to the courtyards and there is also evidence of a link entrance between two rooms of the same house unit.

The Kot Dijian people here at Gandi Umar Khan also practised a similar architectural style with only slight differences from the Harappans. Their structures are slightly in NE-SW direction. The rest of the building material is the same as in the Harappan phase. Sites like Rahman Dheri have shown that the Kot Dijian sites in the Gomal Plain were very large and rich and also early (Durrani 1988).

Like the other Indus Valley sites, the Harappans at Gandi Umar Khan also made cult objects in the shape of T/C female figurines. The figurines collected from the site reflect regional variation, as they are slightly different from those found at Harappa and Moenjodaro (Plate No. IV). The figurines are not found in as large a number as known from other Harappan sites. The collected female figurines are in different styles, slightly changed from each other in hairstyle, dress and sometimes body form. Such female figurines have already been reported from Gumla (Dani 1970-71), Rahman Dheri (Durrani 1988, Durrani et al 1991), Harappa (Vats 1940) and Moenjodaro (Marshall 1931).

The Harappan pottery at Gandi Umar Khan is mainly plain, however, painted ceramics were also collected, which were painted in black on red surface like the typical Harappan wares, in floral and geometrical patterns. The geometrical designs include intersecting circles, hatched pattern, vertical and horizontal lines and bands etc. with thick fabric. The forms of the Harappan pottery include large size storage jars, S-shape jars, perforated vessels, dishes – on – stand, bowls – on – stand, platters, etc (Plate No. V). On the other hand the Kot Dijian ceramics found here are thin and include short-necked grooved ware, flanged rimmed painted and plain ware, Quetta Wet Ware and rimless bowls. The Kot Dijian pottery also has painting on some of the sherds, which include linear and hatched pattern and incised lines etc. Such painted designs are similar to Kot Diji (Khan 1955-57), Rahman Dheri (Durrani 1988, Durrani et al 1991), Gumla III (Dani 1970-71), Lewan II (Allchin & Knox 1986, Khan et al 1991& 2000d) etc.

The other Harappan elements from the site of Gandi Umar Khan are four square shape steatite seals in typical Indus fashion known from the Harappan context excavated in the second season. These seals, although broken, are of great significance because they make the first known group of the Harappan seals from the NWFP. On one seal a tiger with striped body is shown where as on two other the figure of a unicorn is depicted.

The fourth is only a fragment with script. Both of these animals are common on the Indus seals from other Indus sites.

The other antiquities found at the site include stone blades and tools (Plate No. VI), t/c; stone (precious and semiprecious) and paste beads; metal objects like antimony rods; baked clay ceramics and t/c cakes etc. Pottery and t/c cakes are found in large number from the site. A good number of Harappan perforated vessels are also unearthed.

The discovered antiquities are of great interest for further research and will add new chapters to the regional extension of the Indus Valley Civilisation. Our further research and excavations in these newly discovered sites in the Gomal Valley will throw more light on the status of Kot Dijian and Harappan cultures.

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Figure 1: Map showing different archaeological sites in the Gomal Plain

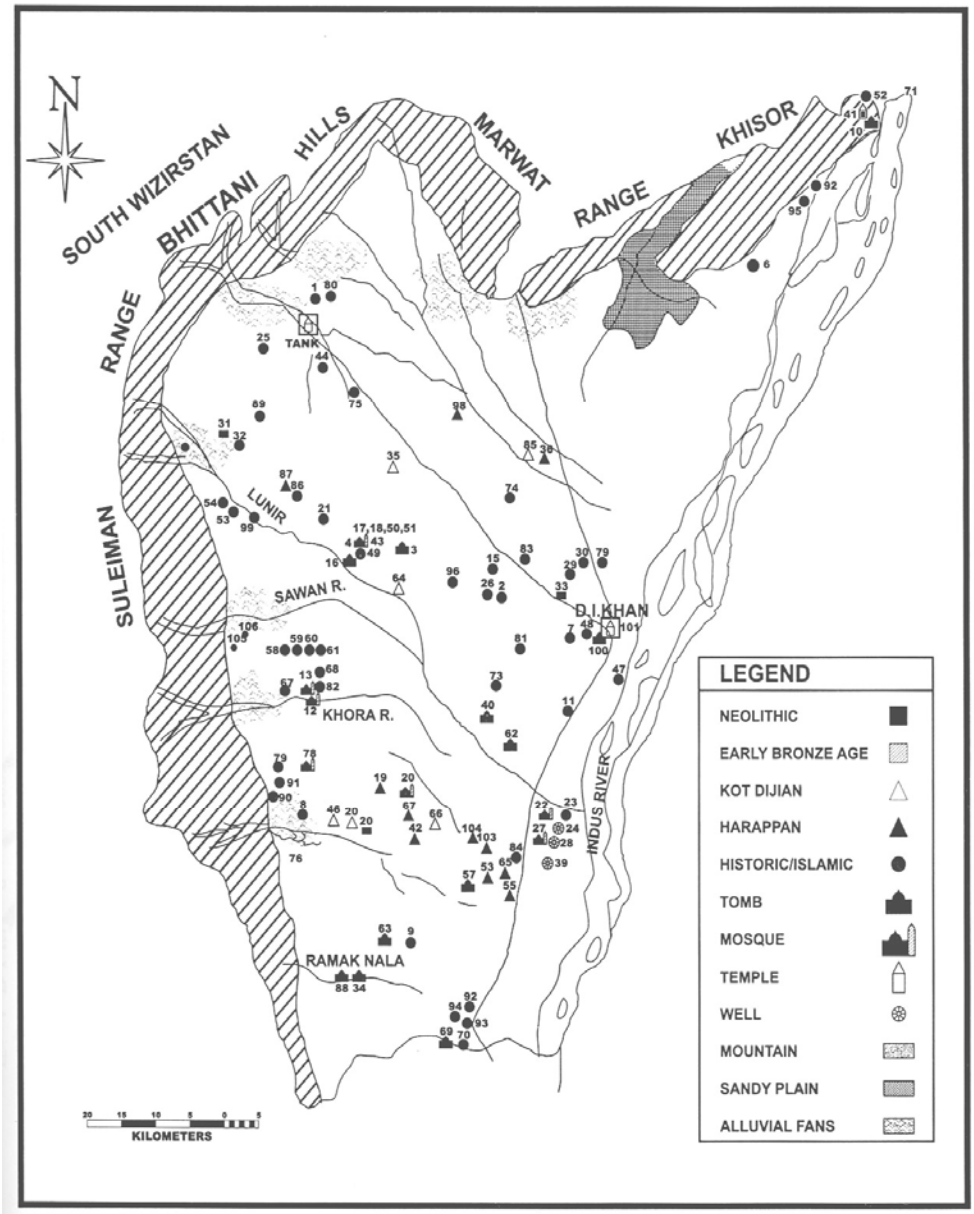

Plate I: Gandi Umar Khan, General View of the site from south

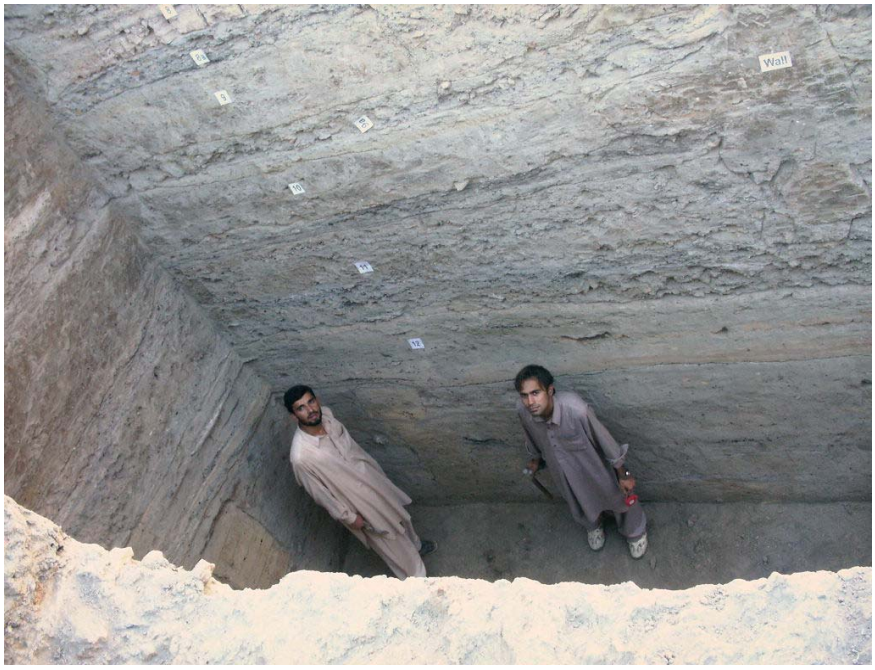

Plate II: Gandi Umar Khan, the deep trench

Plate III: Gandi Umar Khan, The Mud-brick Structures

Plate IV: Gandi Umar Khan, The T/c Human Figurines

Plate V: Gandi Umar Khan, The Pottery and other findings

Plate VI: Gandi Umar Khan, The Stone Tools

Challenging the Myth of Holy Woman

Zia Ahmed, Dr Zafar Iqbal

Abstract

The custom of 'holy woman' in parts of Pakistan dates back to the patriarchal efforts of Indus Valley Civilization for controlling women, especially in socio-religious contexts. In the historical context, it is related to the institution of nuns in Christianity and that of Dasis in Hinduism with a stamp of religious approval. This religious custom has descended down to the people of Pakistan in the form of 'holy woman' and is used for the protection of property under the guise of religious fervor. Shahraz's novel The Holy Woman (2001) narrates such a story in which a young innocent woman is made a 'holy woman' to enable her father to keep hold of his lands. The right of holding lands by using women is exercised on the cultural and religious grounds, under the influence of non-Islamic customs and traditions of the subcontinent. Shahraz exposes and challenges the myth of holy woman by making her heroine Zarri Bano survive and return to normal life after all the turmoil she had to undergo. The myth of holy woman which is generally associated with terrible imposition of self-denial on the part of woman and mostly used with evil intentions to control land and woman has been questioned in this novel. This paper aims at showing as to how the myths like 'holy woman' have been shattering the lives of women but are now losing ground gradually. Customs like 'holy women' will exist only as symbols of the oppression on women but women must be sufficiently empowered to brave such socio-religious customs.

Introduction

Pakistani fiction can be considered a part of the Post-Colonial literature which has largely emerged in the middle and the second half of the twentieth century in various parts of the world. Post-Colonial literature has been produced by the writers from the former British colonies which have remained under deep and powerful influence of the British culture and literature for at least two hundred years. During the British occupation, the colonized felt oppressed and misrepresented especially in literature produced by the writers from the colonizing countries. In response to this, writers from the colonized countries emerged to portray their cultures and peoples as they deemed fit. Therefore, if the Post-colonial literature is a protest against the colonialism on the one hand, it is a voice of the people of the colonized nations on the other hand (Ashcroft et al 2002). Post-Colonial literature mainly belongs to the former British colonies like India, Africa, Australia and America and it portrays not only the culture but also the oppression perpetrated on the colonized nations.

One of the issues Post-Colonial literature addresses is the suffering of women which arose directly as a result of the colonial adventures of the colonizers. The critics of Post-Colonial literature like Bhabba, Spivak, Mohanty, Sulehri, and Walder have asserted that the fiction by the writers from the former British colonies portrayed the sufferings of the women of the colonized countries but with a different perspective of portraying the issues of the local women which were not necessarily like those of the western women (Young 2005). It is because of the fact that the issues of feminism that asserted in the western world are not those of the women of colonized countries like India. Women, for example, in India suffered less on political and financial grounds, unlike the western women, but more so because of religious and social aspects. Consequently religion played the most important role in the lives of the women and after combining with the social systems of these countries started to design the lives for the women in such a way that the superiority of men over women asserted itself more than ever. For example just after a few years of independence of Pakistan, the freedom of women was curtailed in the name of Islamic traditions which forced them to retire from public life. Even the women who played an active part in Pakistan movement including Miss Fatima Jinnah could not continue their vital and active role in the development of the country. This provided further an opportunity to men to colonize the minds and the bodies of their women mostly by invoking the religious customs and traditions**.**

Pakistan is an area of Indo-Pak subcontinent which was a British colony for more than one hundred and fifty years. Pakistan inherited many of the Post-Colonial aspects from the British India. Women in Pakistan had the same fate as those in India. As such Pakistani fiction also can be considered Post-Colonial Fiction which also discusses the problems of women in the same fashion as is done in the fiction produced in India, especially with reference to feminism. The novel The Holy Women (2001) by Shahraz also shows the similar kind of feminism in fiction.

'Fiction by Shahraz'

Shahraz, a Pakistani by birth, is a well-known educationist and writer, recognized as a fiction writer because of her two novels: The Holy Woman (2001), Tyfoon (2003) and short stories. She has a good knowledge of the religious and cultural values of the Muslim world. Shahraz is a professional scriptwriter also and her successful first fourteen-episode drama serial Dil Hee To Hai (2003) was broadcast on Pakistani TV and throughout the world on Prime TV. However, Shahraz is an acclaimed story teller and has a successful writing career in many genres and has become one of leading authors living in Britain. ("contemporarywriters.com")

Her stories, be they short stories or novels, portray characters in highly captivating and interwoven narratives with lives full of contradictions and the cultural contrasts. Not only these narratives but also the symbols and themes in her fiction serve the purpose

of highlighting contemporary issues such as marrying young women to The Holy Quran. Shahraz's work interweaves symbolism, themes and contemporary issues (Crawshaw)[1]; for example the writer has used the symbol of holy woman along with the theme of discrimination against women in Pakistan, especially with reference to the owning of landed property, in her novel The Holy Woman (2001) and Tyfoon (2003). These narratives and the use of the symbols enable the readers (outside Pakistan) of Shahraz to develop a better understanding of the long-standing village traditions in Pakistan and their influence and impact upon the life of Pakistani women. We do experience the tension in the family relationships especially under the powerful influence of the Islamic customs. This brings us closer to the difficulties that women suffer in such a tradition-bound society like that of Pakistan. The work of Shahraz also illuminates the tension that results between male and female sections of the society and the old and the modern generations, at large, as we find in The Holy Woman (2001) that the young woman Zarri Bano in not ready to accept her status as holy woman while her father and grandfather take it comfortably. In particular, Shahraz's latter stories and novels provide the reader with an understanding of the condition of women in contemporary Pakistani culture (Crawshaw).

The novel The Holy Woman (2001) is peculiar in portraying the condition of such women who are forced to submit to the will of their men because of the customs like holy woman. It demonstrates clearly the condition of women who are subjected to patriarchal tyranny exercised under the guise of custom and traditions. It also signifies that this is not a new phenomenon although the instruments of this tyranny have been changing. Women, though assumed to be the weaker sex and lovely creatures by men all around the world, have been treated high handedly by all the patriarchal social systems. For example in Pakistani society women are given the status of noble mothers and lovely daughters but at the time of wars and crises, they are the first ones to bear the anger and frustration of men. The frequency of rape cases and the forced marriages of Pakistani women are significant in this connection. This aggression against women has been common in almost all the societies and writers have been portraying misery of women because of the social injustice against her, as is pointed out by Memon:

Women, through the ages have been victims of inequality and injustices in the society. Historically in both civilized and uncivilized societies, she has been branded as weak, unclean, cursed and unfortunate creature. It is really her tolerance; endurance and her immense quality of perseverance that she has survived these injustices and has kept the generations continue their existence. Not just that, she has even managed, to earn herself the pride of being a goddess at times. (Memon 2001)

The Myth of 'Holy Woman'

South Asia is the area, like Arabic world, sub Saharan Africa, Papua New Guinea, Maori New Zealand and Aboriginal Australia, where women are considered inferior to

men and discriminations are obvious against them. Women, in these areas, have no right to vote, no right to property ownership, no freedom to choose a marriage partner or female circumcision. This type of behavioral pattern is reminiscent of the old Greek and Indian culture in which women were required to sacrifice. Even in Christian Europe women were encouraged to become nuns and live a celibate life. The same can be seen in the personality of the Hindu Dasi in India which has travelled down to Pakistan. But as this area was mostly dominated by the Muslims, instead of making women nuns or Dasis, the Marriage with the holy Quran was popularized in order to perpetuate the ulterior motives of men.

In Pakistan, the rural areas are still under the grip of the cruel customs and traditions and most of these are against women. The customs like, Karo- Kari, and Marriage to a tree[2] or The Holy Quran are still in vogue not only at the lower levels of the society but also at the higher levels. It is worth mentioning that in Sindh, in the absence of a possible marriage-match in the paternal relations; a girl is supposed to relinquish her right to marriage by swearing over the holy book. The reason behind this is to keep property in the family. Laws of inheritance would otherwise force a part of family property to be given away (Memon 2001).

Women in south Asia are controlled by the males in the name of Ghairat[3] and there is a very big risk to the life of a woman if she dares going against the above said system of honour. Zahra has pointed out about these customs in the following words:

> "Marriage to the Holy Quran (the holy book of Islam) is also common in Sindh. Under this law a woman has to live without a husband throughout her life. But this law is only applied among the class of landlords. They use this only to keep and grab the land of their sisters and daughters." (Zahra)

This novel, The Holy Woman (2001) becomes even more interesting when we see that these very people who wage their controlling authority against women are rapidly giving education to their women but still force their women to run their lives as their men would wish. Perhaps education is provided to these women to make them more suitable for marriage and not to help them realize the rights of women (MALU). Similarly, Azfar believes that in the East women are under the grip of most bizarre customs and traditions. According to her, female circumcision in Africa, stoning to death in Arab countries and marriage to the Holy Quran in Pakistan, are the most prominent among these. She thinks that it is in fact the continuation of the misery perpetrated on women in the name of culture and social justice from the time immemorial down to the modern age. She says:

A ritual that is fairly common — or has been until lately — in rural Sindh, marriage to the Quran entails a pledge of celibacy. Among the rich feudals, this ostensibly spiritual rite glosses over a very mundane consideration: a woman who becomes an heiress

exposes her family to the danger of losing their property and wealth to a son-in-law who is an ‘outsider’. To avert this undesirable eventuality, the spiritual interdiction on carnal relationships functions as an astute collaborator of worldly interests. (Azfar)

This ritualistic and socio-political method of control has been condemned by Azfar because Islam does not prescribe any ritual like that. The purpose of such a tradition is to keep the property within the family. This is the sacrifice that women have to undergo to save the honour and the property of their family in Pakistan. Women cannot refuse because they are entangled in the web of men's world and its intricate off-shoots of Izzat and Ghairat. These two concepts are actually deeply connected with the lives of women. The concept of Ghairat that can be translated into honour is a main excuse to control the lives of women. A brother or a father feels humiliated and insulted if his woman speaks, befriends or wants to marry a man out of her own choice. Most of the time, the reaction against any such action of a woman is very violent resulting mostly in the death of the woman. Hundreds of cases are registered against the murders of women by their loved ones on the pretext of honour. But most of these are dismissed under the name of honour killing. In fact the sacrifice on the part of women, in many other ways, is rampant in the countries like Pakistan where the primitive modes of living and customs like Veni, Karo Kari and Khoon-Baha are practiced. Veni is one of the customs of giving women in marriage as a penalty and compensation for a murder. In such cases no care is taken for the age, economic or social status of the groom. The will of the girl is never taken into consideration. She virtually becomes a slave to her husband and has to live in the hostile environment. Karo-Kari is a custom and unwritten law to punish the lovers who try to defy the law of the land and escape to marry on their own because of the love they have for each other. The couple is supposed to be killed by the brother or father of the girl. Khoon-Baha is a custom in the Punjab where the murderer is required to give his sister in marriage to any man of the aggrieved family to appease their anger.

However, the aim of such traditions and customs is to give protection to the brutalities of men committed against women in Pakistan. This is mainly done in order to give protection to the lands owned by big landlords. There have been many cases of marrying women to Holy Quran in the province of Sindh, Pakistan. A woman thus married cannot take part in the normal flow of life and is bound to carry on her life as a holy woman. According to a report by an Islamabad-based NGO, there are currently over 5,000 such women in Sindh ("International human rights observer"). In such a situation women do not have love as basis for marriage rather have to fulfill the demands of their family to become a tool for the safety of the lands of their brothers and father. This drains love from the life of women. According to Shamsie love is not the basic requisite for marriage, rather it is the expediency at various levels, especially that of the rich where most of the marriages are solemnized to strengthen the male financial and socio-political power of the families, clans and tribes. Any emergence of love related relationships are discouraged under many inhuman practices like Karo

Kari which are designed to preserve family honour but are exercised mostly to control the lives of the poor and the women. Shamsie says:

In the interior of Sindh, love has little to do with marriage, and marriage sometimes has nothing to do with two individuals, as demonstrated by the Holy Woman. (Shamsie)

Another factor responsible for the prohibition of marriages based on love is the tradition of the Syed[4] families who would forbid their women from marrying outside the family. When they cannot find a suitable man within the family, they arrange a marriage ceremony of their daughters with the Holy Quran and women in this case are supposed to read the Holy Quran all their life (Rizvi). By doing so, they try to maintain their values as Syeds so that they can continue to claim the purity of blood which they think as an absolute necessity to maintain their right to be called superior family and to maintain their blood relations with the holy families in Islam. Therefore, in our country, illegal marriages with the holy Quran or a tree or keeping the women permanently unmarried continue even in this age of enlightenment.

Challenging the Myth in The Holy Woman (2001)

The novel The Holy Woman (2001) is a tale of a young woman Zarri Bano who is, at first, made independent through education and then made to become a holy woman. Zarri Bano is confident that she will not be treated wrongly by the men of her family because she is educated. Her education develops her thinking and she feels freer than other women around her. Her confidence can be seen in the following words which she utters in reply to her brother's chastisement of hers:

> … I am a free woman. I will decide if I want this or any other man. This is why ten years have elapsed and I have still not married. You shall probably marry before me, and I will be an old maid, she joked. (Shahraz 17)

The education and freedom acquired by Zarri Bano does not empower her to take control of her life. She remains as vulnerable as any other woman of low qualifications can be. Zarri Bano cannot escape the concept of honour which is imposed by the men around her. As discussed above the concept of Izzat[5] is the most significant factor that designs and governs the life patterns of most of the men and women of Pakistan, especially in the rural areas of Pakistan. But the worst off-shoot of this type of life-model lends men the control on the lives of women in Pakistan. The same makes men bolder and women even cowards. This puts the destinies of women in the hands of men in many of Asiatic societies but its brutal after effects are more vehemently noticeable in Pakistan. Men feel proud of such traditions because their socially developed impulse of making women their slaves is satisfied only in this way. They can exercise control on women in the same way as they would do so with any of their properties by terming it protection of honour. With the passage of time men have assumed the role of the "protectors of the honour" of their women and in this

connection, they would demand the biggest sacrifice from them. According to the Shahraz (2001), there is no compromise in case of women in such families. They are ready to lose anything but not a word can be said against their mode of honour. The conservative landlords are more particular about it. Shahraz (2001) writes:

Alongside our land, our wives and daughters, our IZZAT- our honour- is the most precious thing in our lives. We never ever compromise on the issue of our women and our IZZAT. Do dictates, no matter what evil lies outside our door. Even if you sacrifice or part with all the other etiquettes of our land-owning class of feudal landlords, we will never let you sully our IZZAT or our women's honour, Shahzada. (Shahraz 37)

This concept of honour is developed because of extreme observation of customs and traditions which reinforces the patriarchal system governing Pakistani society. Its influence becomes so dominating that instead of giving happiness to his beloved daughter, the father of Zarri Bano makes her a tool to manage his land and wealth and declares that she will be married to the Holy Quran. He finds an excuse in the death of his son that he needed an heir to guard his property. The only way to retain his property was to make his daughter marry the Holy Quran which meant a total collapse of Zarri Bano's life and personality. Her real marriage is cancelled and she is required to abandon the whole world of hers. She finds herself lost and bewildered at the new situation she is required to deal with. We can feel the sense of loss of this girl in the following lines when she is told by her mother about the decision that her father had taken:

> Zarri Bano stared, stupefied, as the meaning of what her mother said just sank in. Her mouth opened but no sound came out.
> 'No, Mother! No!'
> The cry arose from the very depths of her soul. (Shahraz 62)

This agony and helplessness is felt by every woman related to Zarri Bano but no one can challenge the authority and the power of the custom. The mother of Zarri Bano weeps in silence but cannot take any practical step to intervene in the father-ordained fate of her daughter. Shahraz very beautifully echoes the desperate cries of that innocent young woman who tries to save herself from the role she would be required to perform if she is made a holy woman. Zarri Bano tells her father:

I want to be a normal woman, father, and live a normal life! I want to get married. I am not a very religious person, as you know. I am a twentieth century modern educated woman. I am not living in the Mughal period- a pawn in a game of chess. Don't you see father, I have hardly ever prayed in my life, nor opened the holy Quran on a regular basis. How can I thus become a holy woman? I am not suited to that role father. (Shahraz 85)

But ultimately Zarri Bano becomes a victim to the custom and tradition when she gives in to the demands of her father. She covers herself with a Burqa[6] and cuts her hair. When she looks herself in the mirror again, she is unable to recognize herself. She would have a marriage without a bridegroom, yet it is marriage because all else is done in the fashion and custom of marriage. As a result of this marriage to the holy Quran, she cannot take part in any kind of social life except serving the religion. Such a woman has to wear a 'Burqa' and is expected not to show her face to any man who is not a part of her immediate family: her husband, children, brothers or father. This is a way of cutting a woman off from wider society by dehumanizing her in total. Shahraz (2001) says:

"Zarri Bano stood frozen wearing the Burqa dehumanized."

(Shahraz 144)

The new role assigned to her means a strange and new path in life, yet she decides to understand and challenge the myth of holy woman. She sacrifices everything she owns for doing this: her beautiful hair, her beautiful face, her university education, her love, her youth, her independence, her plans of independence and emancipation. She accepts this role and devotes herself to the study of the holy Quran. She studies the Holy Quran in full and learns to interpret its text. She meets religious scholars and visits various religiously important places. In this way, she excels in the religious education not only in Pakistan but also abroad. She visits Egypt and Saudi Arabia on her religious missions. She makes it a moment of self-fulfillment for her and in fact she feels great pride in teaching other men and women what in fact religion is and what it demands from its followers. In this way, Zarri Bano challenges false myth that if a woman is made to act as a holy woman, she has to lose her social life altogether. She makes it a force for herself and gets a total control of her body and mind in the sense that she can decide the ways and means to use her body in order to bring even more excellence in her. After this changed situation, no man can force his will on her. Another consequence of this changed role of her is that it enables her to ignore her sexual and social needs. Even she rejects the advances of a young Egyptian man who tries to engage her in love. She does so because she is bound not to marry.

She gains further strength because of the support and love of her fiancé, Sikandar Din who does not leave her alone even in this unchangeable situation. However, when she feels that her mission as a 'holy woman' is complete, she responds to the attention of Sikandar and marries him. It takes one or two years in coming close to her husband and enjoy the life of her love.

One can see that Zarri Bano goes through three major life stages in this book. First, she lives as a robust young and free woman; second, she becomes cut off from her normal

life and becomes a holy woman and third, she takes a U-turn and becomes the wife of her lover. These stages reflect that Zarri Bano does not ignore any of these stages rather develops herself in every stage and ultimately moulds into a full woman who has experienced all kind of life and has not allowed the custom and tradition get hold of her and kill her. She uses the period of 'holy woman' to learn, teach and develop her personality. She does not lose herself completely and ultimately returns to her normal life. This shows that the writer does not want her heroine to go mad with shrieks and grief. Instead she makes her do the things in a mature confident and responsible way and makes her win over the custom and tradition. She remains devoted to her studies of the Quran and not married to it. She breaks the myth that a woman who is forced to marry the Holy Quran will die socially or even physically. She, in fact proves that even by performing this service, she does not lose her womanhood. She continues to live with her family and even takes care of her nephew and participates in the social gatherings. She proves that she is capable of handling the matters of her life and ultimately breaks the myths associated with the concept of holy woman.

Conclusion

The father of Zarri Bano is able to convert her into a holy woman because of the force of custom and tradition that lend control and power to men over their women. He creates such a situation which makes Zarri Bano accept the demands of her father in the same way as any uneducated or simple country girl would do. This control has been normally exercised by men in Pakistan against their women to save their property and money. Women have been made holy women against their will. In reverse to this, there is no custom of making a man a 'holy man' by force or against his will. Therefore it is a deliberate attempt to control women, as men want to control their property.

Shahraz has tried to highlight through her character of holy woman that no education or family love can change the opinion of men when they want to use their women for such practices as that of making a holy woman until a whole change of mental make up takes place. She portrays life of many women in her novel to bring to light the misery of the women through the characters of Kaneez, Firdous Fatima and Shahzada.

The story of Zarri Bano by Shahraz (2001) goes to prove the point that a woman gets real happiness of her life when she is free from the taboos and the stigmas of the society. She has to take care of the social norms but her happiness must also be considered an important and significant point. If a woman is happy she can work wonders for the society and her family. If she is denied these rights, not because of her faults but because of the observance of the male biased social code, she is ruined. Shahraz goes to prove that Zarri Bano has challenged the myth of holy woman by becoming a holy woman. She has proved that she can face and hold on her own in

whatever role the society puts her in. It should further be said that she redefined this role and regained control of her life by exploring her intellectual, spiritual, emotional and sexual needs. She returns to her normal life and loses nothing, rather gains much foresight and knowledge through the whole process. This brings not only before the readers what the 'holy woman' has been deemed and what actually she must be. She has further proved that the role of 'holy woman' may be like nuns in Christianity or like Dasis of Hindus, but while being a holy woman, it is actually that of a religious scholar who devotes much of her time to religious teaching and learning. It is the male mentality that has used this custom wrongly to get control over the bodies of women.

Notes

[1] Reference without a year indicates that this refers to a web page, in accordance with MLA (2003)

[2] It is a marriage in which a girl is supposed to be the wife of a tree. This has been in vogue in Pakistani and Indian territories till recently. The girl married to tree cannot marry any man and in fact has to live a celibate life. This type of marriage is similar to the marriage with the Holy Quran and was mostly perpetrated to save the property and the honour of the family.

[3] Honour

[4] Syeds suppose to belong to the family of the Holy prophet and hence consider themselves superior in blood and would not marry their daughters to non Syed families because of this and apparently they do so to maintain the purity of the blood. Surprisingly enough, this purity of blood is maintained by the Syeds only in Indo-Pak subcontinent.

[5] Honour

[6] a full veil

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